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ABSTRACT

The Media History section of this collection of conference presentations contains the following 21 papers: "Social Class Advocacy Journalism: Prelude to Party Politics, 1892" (David J. Vergobbi); "Pilfering the News: A Quality Comparison of the World and Journal's Spanish-American War Coverage" (Randall S. Sumpter); "The Early Black Press in Wichita, Kansas: A Historical Analysis" (Aleen J. Ratzlaff); "The Civil Rights Movement in the 1940s: A Communication Context" (William J. Leonhirth); "Reform Allies: The Temperance and Prohibition Press and Woman Suffrage Wisconsin, 1910-20" (Elizabeth V. Burt); "African-Americans and 'Delusive Theories of Equality and Fraternity': The Role of the Press in the Institutionalization of Racial Inequality" (David Domke); "All That Unsung Jazz: How Kansas City Papers Missed the Story" (Giles Fowler); "Discovering a Mid-Nineteenth Century Drive for Journalistic Professionalization" (Stephen A. Banning); "Bad Times for the Press: The 1931 Labor Struggle in Harlan County" (Sally A. Guthrie); "Hearst, Roosevelt and the Muckrake Speech of 1906: A New Perspective" (Mark Neuzil); "'We Shall No Longer Play Fool': The Black Press in the 'Nadir' of African-Americans" (David Domke); "The Politics of Journalistic Independence: Detroit Journalism in the Progressive Era" (Richard L. Kaplan); "Those Who Would Not 'Sigh to the Wind': The Missionary Press in China" (Virginia Mansfield-Richardson); "Against the Grain: Published Humor in Wartime France" (Ross F. Collins); "Mainstream Press Portrayals of Native Americans in the 'Indian New Deal'" (Mary Ann Weston); "Henry R. Luce's Intellectual Militia: Examining the Origins of the Commission on Freedom of the Press" (Jane S. McConnell); "Mary Margaret McBride, Talkshow Host: The Perfect Proxy for Radio Listeners" (Beverly G. Merrick); "From Ghosting to Free-Lancing: Mary Margaret McBride Covers Royalty and Radio Rex" (Beverly G. Merrick); "Sponsors Court Mary Margaret McBride, Talkshow Host: 'All About Life in a Biscuit Factory, on the Radio'" (Beverly G. Merrick); "A Study in Contrasts: The Ideology and Reality of Newsroom Work in the Late 19th Century" (William S. Solomon); and "Propaganda without Pain: United States' Design for World War II Hemispheric Radio" (Michael B. Salwen). (RS)

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Social Class Advocacy Journalism: Prelude to Party Politics, 1892

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Social Class Advocacy Journalism: Prelude to Party Politics, 1892

ABSTRACT

By 1890, organized labor had engaged corporate mining companies for socio-economic control of North Idaho's Coeur d'Alene mining district. This ideological struggle led to a social class advocacy journalism. Editors became vociferous advocates of capital or heralded the rights of labor.

When these social groups started courting political assistance during the violent 1892 labor/capital clash, the editors began, then prompted, political party identification to clarify social class positions. Only when martial law effectively destroyed the miners' unions did Coeur d'Alene advocacy journalism emerge as political party partisanship, for electoral purposes to represent social class ideology.

Coeur d'Alene newspapers thus reverse historical evolutionary trends and help define an unique early industrial frontier journalism that exemplifies the force socio-economic catalysts could play in the evolution of American journalism -- through the impetus of societal institutions, not political parties, vying for power.

The first of a series, the paper provides a conceptual framework to 1) ascertain if similar developments existed on other industrial frontiers, then 2) determine whether, and/or how, such advocacy journalism influenced the evolution of American journalism generally.

Social Class Advocacy Journalism: Prelude to Party Politics, 1892

Eye to eye with his bitter rival, Adam Aulbach accepted the inevitable: when you choose sides and take a stand, someone loses. Aulbach had lost. The miners he championed had lost. Martial law -- and the mine owners -- controlled North Idaho's Coeur d'Alene mining district (Map 1). Now Aulbach stood ready to sign over the business he spent the last three years building into Shoshone county's foremost newspaper and printing plant, his flagship Wallace Press, the "voice of labor."[1] And he was handing it to R. E. Brown, editor of the mine owners' Coeur d'Alene Barbarian.

For the past seven months, from January into July 1892, these rival editors had exchanged salvos in a cross-fire that engulfed the Coeur d'Alenes. Other newspapers joined the fray, but Aulbach and Brown spoke loudest for labor and capital, social class opponents whose actions erupted in death and destruction; a conflict that echoed across the nation and bore the seed to unite, for the first time, all western mine workers.[2]

But on July 20, 1892, Aulbach knew only that the combined power of mine owners, state government, and federal troops had suppressed the Coeur d'Alene labor unions and, with them, the working class. Within days, the pro-miners' union Wallace Press became the pro-capitalist Coeur d'Alene American. Within the month, the pro-union Mullan Tribune also disbanded as the pro-capitalist Wardner/Wallace Coeur d'Alene Barbarian, Wallace Coeur d'Alene Miner, and Osburn Coeur d'Alene Statesman proclaimed a just Mine Owners' Association victory. Only then, with union activity outlawed, did Coeur d'Alene newspapers pursue their social class advocacy through political party ideology.

Though many histories use the Coeur d'Alene press as primary sources, no history addresses the roles those newspapers played in the events nor the type of newspaper and journalism created for, or by, the moment.[3] This case study thus considers the state of Coeur d'Alene journalism before, during, and following, the violent 1892 climax of labor/capital tensions that produced armed warfare, martial law, and a heated election. It defines a social class advocacy journalism that reverses the traditional politics-to-economics evolution of early 19th century urban and frontier journalistic partisanship.[4] The first of a series, the paper also provides a framework to ascertain whether similar developments existed on other early industrial frontiers and highlights an area where labor press history and the history of early industrial frontier newspapers intersect.[5]

A Wage Workers' Frontier of Social Class Advocacy

Original North Idaho fortune-hunters of the mid-1880s found and worked their own gold claims -- what they dug, they kept. With the mines came settlements. Camps like Eagle City, Raven, Delta, Burke, Gem, Wardner, Milo (Kellogg), and Mullan grew up nearly on top of these claims. But silver soon displaced gold and, unlike the early surface placer claims, underground silver lode mining became complex and expensive. By 1889 things had changed. An elite group of mine owners -- few of whom lived in the Coeur d'Alene region, most of whom answered to eastern or west coast investors -- controlled the forty developed mines. When fortune-hunters continued to arrive in the late 1880s, the riches were already divided. Personal fortune rested on management whim. The _lucky_ miners became wage-earners -- and dug silver for someone else.[6]

Though reflecting national corporate trends, two major differences distinguished the Coeur d'Alenes: 1) North Idaho miners resented losing their individualistic frontier heritage, a resentment that strained their relationship with employers whose concentrated corporate power dictated labor and social conditions; 2) Geographic isolation kept miners from alternate sources of work, an employment monopoly that increased the owners' power over the district. With capital, transportation, labor, and technology nearly in place, and with its miners set to rebel against their fallen status, the Coeur d'Alenes emerged by 1890 as a new type of frontier, a "wage workers' frontier" -- that moment of rapid transformation from a socially-based, self-sufficient pioneer prospecting society into an economically-based, wage-dependent, production community.[7]

This sudden economic restructuring produced two new institutions that predated political parties and commerce in the struggle to organize Coeur d'Alene society and economics -- corporate mining companies and organized labor. Political parties did not empower these institutions as they vied for community control prior to July 1892. Empowerment came through socio-economic class distinctions, whose ideologies led to a social class advocacy journalism that only evolved into party partisanship when martial law forced it to politicize.[8]

This study, in fact, delineates the evolutionary course that led Coeur d'Alene social classes to seek political party affiliation, a course editors followed in service of their chosen class. Blondel, for example, stated that for "parties to develop there must be broad social conflict[s]....[that] run deeply into the fabric of society and sharply divide its members....for example...between social classes."[9] The Coeur d'Alene's rapid transformation as a wage workers' frontier so strained labor/management relations that armed conflict broke out twice during the 1890s. Lipset & Rokkan, meanwhile, maintained that class cleavage played the primary role in structuring political alignment. The Left is therefore identified with the working class and labor unions, the Right synonomous with business interests and the middle class. When political issues such as wage settlements or employment programs tapped the concerns of this cleavage, party positions reflected traditional social orientations, as in the Coeur d'Alenes.[10]

But the distinction of social class advocacy journalism from political party partisan journalism lies in the definition of political party. Parties are in business to win elections. Epstein includes this critical element in a widely accepted definition of parties: "any group, however loosely organized, seeking to elect governmental officeholders under a given label."[11] Epstein calls attention to the collective character of a political party, established by its common label, a characteristic that distinguishes parties from other power-seeking groups. These alternatives have defined a party as a group that "presents at elections, and is capable of placing through elections, candidates for public office"[12] or as an agency "for forging links between citizens and policymakers."[13] While such activities interest parties, parties are unique in their nominal unity and in their electoral focus. In this paper, political parties are considered as groups of people who seek power through the ballot box, not as individual voters who grant power through their ballots. Parties, then, are "working politicians supported by partisan voters."[14]

Throughout the 1880s and 90s, the Miners' Union engaged the Mine Owners' Association (a unique capitalist union) in an ideological battle to control the Coeur d'Alene mining district. Although the same social, economic, and political concerns existed before and after the violent July 1892 climax, prior to the violence newspapers expressed ideological activism from a social class designation -- labor union versus capitalist union. These unions did not pursue the defining party activity of the electoral process.

After July, however, newspapers did designate class ideology as political party affiliation -- Democrat/Populist versus Republican. In other words, only when capital-induced martial law eradicated the miners' unions in July 1892 did labor and capital use political parties to focus on election as the method to gain power in the district. At this point, those with class sympathies sought to create a social movement concept of a political party, "in which politics is expressive of an encompassing ideology...."[15] And these social movement parties used a partisan press to promote their class ideologies.

A Time of Conflict

The last decades of the 19th Century witnessed some of the most bitter class conflicts in American labor history: the violent McCormick Harvester strike near Chicago and ensuing Haymarket Square massacre, the general strike in New Orleans, the Switchmen's strike at Buffalo, the coal miners' strike in East Tennessee, the Carnegie Steel Company strike in Homestead, Pennsylvania, and the Pullman Palace Car

Company strike near Chicago. In 1894 alone labor called 1,400 industrial strikes nationwide, involving more than 500,000 workers.[16] Such struggle led thousands of workers to join organized labor.

The Coeur d'Alenes and other mining districts such as Leadville, Cripple Creek, and Telluride in Colorado also experienced violent disputes.[17] Immediate causes varied from labor-management disagreements over the eight-hour day, a minimum wage scale, and/or commercial monopoly of company-owned towns. An economic depression, repeal of the Sherman Silver Purchase Act, and the steady decline in silver prices exacerbated the tension by forcing mine owners to temporarily suspend operations, reduce labor costs, and even default on wages. Meanwhile, new technology reduced previously skilled workers to unskilled laborers. Most important, perhaps, corporate organization reduced individualistic miners from independent operators to permanent wage-earners. "In a sense, the miners of the 1890s...rebelled against a decline in status effected by the industrialization of the mines."[18]

Throughout these disputes, a growing labor press enforced worker determination. Hinton, for example, estimated in 1885 that unions and societies produced 17 monthly journals, 400 weeklies, and even a few dailies.[19] The Coeur d'Alenes were distinct, however, for capital owned its sole organizational newspaper during the 1892 labor/capital war. In fact, the first union-published/supported journal did not appear until 1894.[20] Yet union sympathies permeated the local press.

Editor Choice: Union Cause or Owner Belief

In a scathing, but revealing, front-page editorial on June 6, 1892, the Osburn Coeur d'Alene Statesman's H. C. Piggott gave his interpretation of the role of Coeur d'Alene journalism in the escalating "MINERS VS. MINE OWNERS" troubles of 1892 (full text in note):

> Meddlesome Coeur d'Alene Papers The
> Chief Cause of Prolonging The Quarrel
>
> ...Right here we wish to say that had the news papers kept out of the fight the trouble would have been settled long ago in a manner satisfactory to both sides, and the country would to-day be more prosperous than ever before. With the Wallace Press and Mullan Tribune advising the miners not to give an inch and the Barbarian and Wallace Miner advising the mine owners that to arbitrate would be suicidal for their interests, things are indeed in a most unfortunate way.
>
> At a meeting of the county seat committee at Wallace early in April it was decided best for one of the Wallace newspapers to take the side of the miners, while the other was to uphold the mine owners, thus standing pat for the county seat vote....[21]

While Piggott's unsubstantiated accusations are difficult to verify[22] -- and granting that Piggott's journalistic agenda toward the county seat battle biased his interpretation of events -- his suggestive reasoning, his demarcation of labor and owner newspapers, and his belief in their ability to influence events illuminated the deep involvement of newspapers in Coeur d'Alene history. To maintain their livelihoods or to attain their personal goals, editors had to side with either labor or management, for the middle path led to extinction (Table 1).

Adam Aulbach, who took pride in pointing out that he was a member of two typographical unions, and who once worked for the pro-labor San Francisco Chronicle, displayed an open preference for the Coeur d'Alene miners' unions.[23] For whatever reason, Aulbach chose to champion Coeur d'Alene labor and the four-page Wallace Press became his platform to "speak his views plainly." With sympathy toward the miners, Aulbach said "[h]e would not be found in a doubtful position when the trying moment came."[24]

Aulbach's purchase of the Mullan Tribune on March 1, 1892, also altered that newspaper's agenda. Claiming a strict independence in "all partisan affairs [and] advocating the cause of right and denouncing the wrong," the Tribune immediately advocated the union and denounced the mine owners.[25] "The proud Coeur d'Alenes," wrote Tribune editor F. K. Jerome,

> is now struggling in a revolution between would be master & forced slave, between mine owner & miner, for a paltry pittance...yet involving a principle...'that a laborer is worthy his hire'.... It is a fight between owner & producer.[26]

The mine owners, meanwhile, knowing the strength of a united front, began organizing a capitalists' association as early as November 1889 to deal with freight, operating, smelting, and labor questions.[27] The owners formally approved the Mine Owners' Protective Association of the Coeur d'Alenes -- called the Mine Owners' Association or MOA -- on February 16, 1891, and turned its power against the miners' union.[28] First it hired a Pinkerton detective to spy on union activities[29] then it reached for public opinion by creating the Wallace Coeur d'Alene Barbarian in early January 1892. Later that month, to ensure full coverage of the district, the MOA purchased the Wardner News plant, dissolved the News, and replaced it with a Wardner edition of the Barbarian.[30]

Published by the provocatively-named "Barbarian Outfit," the eight-page Coeur d'Alene Barbarian voiced, preached, even screamed, the mine owners' belief that union "agitators" like Adam Aulbach[31] stirred "up men who were satisfied with working and living conditions."[32] Editor R. E. "Barbarian" Brown, for example, arrogantly proclaimed that Coeur d'Alene citizens should "THINK FOR YOURSELVES":

> There is too much "Rights of labor" in this camp....Is [the

> Miners' Union] going to let a few disturbing agitators...keep the true cause of labor in an everlasting turmoil? Wake up!... denounce your foolish leadership...you are men--not puppets.[33]

While pro-union editors railed against the MOA and its newspaper,[34] the Dunn brothers accepted the outside agitator belief, having promoted it since 1887 in their earlier _News Press_.[35] The Dunns consolidated their anti-labor position in their second Wallace newspaper, the weekly eight-page _Coeur d'Alene Miner_, committing themselves to the mine owners' cause.[36] But the Dunns' subtle approach contained a sense of fairness and reasoning foreign to the _Barbarian_, although it ended in a similar conclusion:

> But with all their good intentions--and we maintain that the objects of unions are good--labor organizations frequently make grave mistakes.... When they demanded equal pay for all underground men they started out on a proposition that does not appeal to reason and is not and never has been endorsed by many of their best members [those satisfied with working and living standards]. It looks too much like a scheme of the Butte [Montana] miners [outside agitators], who...in order to retain their scale of wages, [want] to have the same adopted here.[37]

The Dunns continued by raising "evidence" of the unions' "mistake in forcing the fight," which the unions realized and tried to compensate for by bringing the boarding house, company store and check grievances into the fight. "On these they could have won long ago," said the Dunns, "for no mine owner would dare face public sentiment and oppose them.[38] Such evidence is tenuous. Public sentiment had little effect on late nineteenth century industrialists.[39] But it was good press.

During its six-year run, the Dunns' _Miner_ was the official Republican party newspaper of Shoshone county.[40] While some Coeur d'Alene laborers were Republicans, by 1892 the majority claimed Democratic (and eventually Populist) party affiliation.[41] The mining corporations, however, strongly allied themselves with the Republican party and Idaho's state Republican administration.[42] In proclaiming loyalty to the Republican party, the Miner proclaimed its pro-MOA position. Journalistic debate, however, proceeded on the socio-economic class perspective of labor versus capital, not on a political party agenda based on electing public officeholders.

Decisions made, by 1892 Coeur d'Alene editors, except Piggott, had aligned themselves as pro-labor or pro-mine owner. More the opportunist, Piggott dallied with both sides, but usually directed his attacks against newspapers rather than organizations. Most interested in bringing the county seat to Osburn, Piggott withheld alliance until a clear victor survived the impending labor/capital confrontation. Then he stridently proclaimed an anti-union position. But the pro-labor Press and Tribune and the pro-MOA Barbarian and Miner defied such caution and risked their futures on a chosen social class cause.

Eruption

In June 1892, Adam Aulbach listed twelve Mine Owner Association "blunders" -- designed to "subdue and break up and annihilate the Miners' Unions" -- that he said caused the tense labor situation. "Let us see what these blunders [including the Barbarian and attempts to gag the Press and the Tribune] have cost the Coeur d'Alenes":

> The miners have lost over one million dollars in wages; the business men have lost practically an equal amount in trade; the railroad companies have lost over one million freight dollars; and the mine owners have suffered a loss that they themselves are unwilling to admit....the threat of closing the mines is as childish as all the former acts of the Association....[43]

As Aulbach enumerated past and present MOA blunders, the Dunns' Wallace Coeur d'Alene Miner called for a compromise between miner and owner with a plan that "appeals to reason and common sense--elements that have been sadly lacking on both sides since the fight began." But the Dunns' plan quickly turned anti-union and reiterated that outside agitators were behind the current labor problems. Finally, the brothers concluded their "compromise plan" by discounting the union's fear that machine drills and other methods of mine automation reduced the status of miners.[44] In advising the union, the Dunns mentioned no point for the mine owners to concede.

The Press, meanwhile, outlined the core elements of what became Aulbach's final anti-MOA campaign by turning the mine owners' own accusations against them -- that MOA members "were not willing to be governed by the civil authorities; that they are trying to provoke a conflict which will cost the lives of many citizens, and introduce a reign of terror whereby they may employ their secret forces."[45] In promoting his MOA-as-provocateur campaign, Aulbach's always inflammatory speech gained a seriousness that proved prescient. Aulbach further pressured the mine owners by encouraging unionists and exhorting their righteous fight. He told the union to remember it was not a strike but a mine owners' lockout that resulted in millions of dollars damage for everyone.[46]

July 1892 opened with Idaho State Inspector General James F. Curtis visiting the Coeur d'Alenes to inspect the Wallace company of state militia, most of which had sworn not to bear arms against the Miners' Union. Formally commissioned to represent the governor, Curtis conspicuously attended local Fourth of July festivities as a guest of mine owners Charles Sweeney and George B. McAulay. Governor Willey meanwhile sent a request to President Harrison for troops to settle the Coeur d'Alene situation. Harrison refused on constitutional grounds believing the differences could be settled lawfully, as did the Coeur d'Alene newspapers.[47] Outraged at Willey, Aulbach attacked the governor and all things MOA, including their editors:

> Gov. Willey and the [MOA] members...could get [the troops] to shoot a dozen or so miners every day as a matter of sport. By all means, let us have martial law, the troops, the Governor and his automaton staff...and the Windmill Bombasticus Roberts [Barbarian Brown], the two Dunns as bone polishers and Brother Piggott of Osburn, bareheaded [sic] as color bearer.[48]

Barbarian Brown returned fire with his favorite union-as-tyrant campaign, which framed the trade union as an un-American destroyer of personal independence. Brown attacked union "agitators" who "call upon others to organize and follow their instructions regardless of all consequences." If that is the case, Brown said, capital must also organize to defend and provide for those free-thinking laborers whom unionists cannot coerce. He defended the Association for providing miners "the privilege vouchsafed to every true American citizen -- that of acting for himself," and condemned the union for forcing men "to do thus or so by threats and intimidation...."[49]

The Barbarian set the true battle. The owners' labor question no longer revolved around wages. It had turned to eliminating the Miners' Union completely. But the union, said the Tribune, "has not nor does it intend to give up the fight until it is won by themselves ...[t]he miners have plenty of money to hold out for several years... and are under orders...to do so," an unfortunate admission that played right into the Barbarian's union tyranny campaign.[50]

Such newspaper exchanges evidenced -- and increased -- the tension engulfing the Coeur d'Alenes, and trouble inched closer. Fearing violence, a mine owner wired the governor for cases of guns to protect mines employing nonunion men. Unionists contended that several members had been beaten the past few weeks. But fearing martial law, the union instructed miners not to be baited into violence. Yet, as Gem miners celebrated a peaceful Fourth of July, owner/manager A. M. Esler was fortifying his Gem mine and parading twenty-five armed guards in the Frisco mine yard.[51]

Then on July sixth, the strike at Andrew Carnegie's steel plant in Homestead, Pennsylvania, exploded into "one of the bloodiest clashes between capital and labor in American history..."[52] The riot aroused international attention, and the attention of Coeur d'Alene editors, who perceived and understood the similarities between Homestead and the Coeur d'Alenes.

They also perceived that their presentation of the news could strengthen or harm their class sympathies. While the pro-capitalist Miner, for instance, buried a long article on page five entitled "Bullets and Dynamite" that condemned the Homestead riots as the fault of labor, Aulbach made the "TERRIBLE SLAUGHTER" his front-page lead story for July ninth.[53] The Press used the event to justify and promote its capitalist-MOA-as-provocateur campaign. His biased comments reporting the Homestead strike made no attempt to present an accurate depiction of events, made dangerous, incisive parallels to the local situation, and carried an ominous premonition for the Coeur d'Alenes. Aulbach's subheads said the Pinkerton "Hired Murderers" shot Carnegie's strikers "Down Like Dogs" and that the Coeur d'Alenes just escaped "a Similar

Affray" in which MOA-hired "shooters" had orders to fire upon anyone who interfered with the imported nonunion labor force. And he made it clear that the "bloody affair [was] the natural tendency of capital nowadays under the protecting hand of arrogant Republicanism," which included Coeur d'Alene mine owners.[54]

The disastrous consequences at Homestead -- martial law, union suppression -- had barely penetrated the Coeur d'Alenes when, three days later, the Gem Miners' Union exposed their recording secretary as an MOA spy. Coeur d'Alene unions were used to the idea of infiltrators and had uncovered a number over the years. Aulbach himself reported two such cases as MOA "blunders."[55] But a spy had never before attained such a trusted union position.[56]

For union miners and families subsisting on the charity of other western unions, the betrayal was the final indignity that ignited the miners to violence.[57] Months of crushing tension erupted on July 11, 1892, when company guards and unionists exchanged fire at the heavily fortified Frisco mill near Gem. Emboldened miners then ran a dynamite charge down the pen stock into the Frisco mill. The explosion blew the four-story building into splinters, killing a nonunion man and causing the other defenders to surrender. The union assault then turned to the Gem mine. In the intense -- and more accurate -- gunfire, three union men, a Pinkerton detective, and a nonunion miner dropped to the ground dead and a half dozen fell wounded. The spy fled into the hills. In a few moments of violence, union miners excised six months of depression, suppression, and frustration, and took control of Canyon Creek.

Flushed with victory, "and with a burning desire to settle accounts with the citadel of the mine owners' anti-union activity, namely the Bunker Hill and Sullivan company," 500 miners assembled in Wardner demanding that all nonunion "scabs" be discharged.[58] To prevent destruction, the Bunker Hill manager agreed. The next day, most nonunion men fled the district and congregated at the Cataldo Mission. Awaiting a lake steamer to Coeur d'Alene City, the defenseless men and their families suffered an attack and robbery from an unknown group of armed men. No one died in the "Mission Massacre" and both union and management denied involvement.[59]

Though the Miners' Union controlled the Coeur d'Alenes, Republican government favored the mine owners, and "the entire machinery of the state power plus the military arm of the federal government were exerted in the owners' behalf."[60] On July thirteenth, Governor Willey made good a June fourth promise by declaring a state of insurrection in the Coeur d'Alenes, which he instructed the mine owners' Barbarian to print.[61] Willey then sent six companies of the Idaho National Guard to Wallace and federal troops arrived soon after. By July fourteenth, a military force of 1,500 had returned the mines to their owners, outlawed the unions, and arrested 600 miners. It also had orders to "shoot...on the spot" any person endangering property. Martial law entrenched for four months. The mine owners had won.[62]

Interpretive Reports

Publishing on a Wednesday, the Aulbach-owned Mullan Tribune scooped its competitors by three days with the first report of Monday's "BLOODY WAR," and set the pattern for a partisan interpretation of events. Its union sympathy produced a five (of six) column front-page article glorifying a just victory for organized labor that "Capture[d] the Enemy." The lead sentence defined the article's focus and intent stating that for "three long months the Mine Owners' Association have [sic] used every means in their power to precipitate riot and blood shed in the Coeur d'Alenes and at last have succeeded."[63]

Jerome's report then blamed "incendiary threats against the Union men" perpetrated by "drunken scab" agitators who insulted union miners "with the most foul language" they could command. With care and precision, Jerome clarified that MOA mine guards started the gunfire and he expressed amazement at the guards unconscionable shooting at innocent people.[64] The Tribune further directed reader sympathy against the mine owner guards by detailing the incomprehensible experiences of their innocent victims.[65]

Three days later, the Dunn brothers' pro-MOA Miner attacked the union with headlines proclaiming: "GUNS AND DYNAMITE. The Miners' Union at last shows its true colors. DEATH AND DESTRUCTION At the Frisco and Gem Mines--An Armed and Blood Thirsty Mob IN CONTROL OF THE COUNTY." Then it immediately contradicted itself in a final subhead: "Martial Law Has Been Proclaimed and United States Troops Are in Complete Possession--Leading Union Men Under Arrest." The newspaper's sympathies, like the Tribune's, were apparent from its lead:

> The [orderly] struggle between the miners's unions of the Coeur d'Alenes and the mine owners...developed a new phase this week....The Winchester has taken the place of argument and giant powder has been substituted for arbitration....The heavy tread of the "bucket brigade" has given way to the measured step of United States troops....[66]

Contradicting the Tribune, the Dunns reported that Saturday evening as the "nonunion men [not scabs] gained in numbers they naturally felt safer; they resisted insult; they fought when attacked...." Where the Tribune attributed all aggression and insulting taunts to the nonunion workers, the Miner reported that those fights "served to light the fuse" and that Sunday night armed unionists made "a preconcerted movement from all directions" to march on Gem. The Miner "reminded" its readers that the union acted in plain sight of numerous witnesses and, after stating that nonunion men were not the aggressors, blamed the shooting on the "deeper rooted" action of unionists who had for "weeks and months past" plotted the ensuing battle. The Dunns reported that union men began the gunfire at both the Frisco mill and mine dump.[67]

In a vitriolic editorial called "BLOODY WORK AND ITS REWARD," the Miner declared the miners' union of the Coeur d'Alenes as "dead," and deservedly so.[68] The brothers then accused the "fiendish savages" [union men] of perpetrating the Mission Massacre and painted unionists as inhuman automatons who, after blowing up the mill, raised not a hand to help injured or dead "but, flushed with victory," sought their next battle. They also blamed "the men who in speech and public print have inflamed the ignorant and encouraged the vicious." The tirade ended with an ominous warning:

> United States troops will be in the Coeur d'Alenes...till the right of an employer to hire and discharge whom he will is established so strong that it never can be destroyed; till the right of every law abiding citizen to work for whom or what he pleases is never questioned; till the last trace of anarchy is blotted out; till every man who has transgressed the law has paid or is paying the penalty; and last, till it is demonstrated beyond doubt that they will never again be needed for what they are here today.

Never had the Dunn brothers displayed such righteous venom.

By comparison, the normally virulent Barbarian was reserved. Even though it favored martial law and the mine owners, its lead provided the most succinct and unbiased report of all the Coeur d'Alene newspapers.[69] Part of Brown's reserve can be attributed to the amount of previous coverage, he felt it unnecessary to report such familiar details. More likely, as a Wardner resident, Brown had better information on the local situation so dedicated his two-column article to the events at Wardner's Bunker Hill & Sullivan mine, in which he disparaged the union. Brown portrayed the owners as reasonable men concerned about their employees' fate and the unionists as excitable, armed extortionists, agitators on the brink of further destruction.[70]

The Barbarian also published a front-page editorial that praised martial law and the arrest of union men and those who sympathized "with the outrages lately committed." Brown reiterated his union-as-tyrant theme using the "sanguinary events of the past week" to prove that "these renegades, these defiers of law and opposers of decency," these un-American union agitators, had robbed their innocent followers of independence and freedom with acts that "have aroused the righteous indignation of every loyal citizen in the land." He closed the story by insinuating that the union was behind the Mission Massacre.

Aulbach's pro-union Press was also surprisingly reserved. The union's resort to violence, whatever its reason, apparently surprised and certainly disappointed him. Aulbach often stated his open sympathy for the Miners' Union, but he never condoned their unlawful acts.[71] Aulbach, who had defended the "peaceable community" of the Coeur d'Alenes as an unnecessary target for martial law and who had condemned the MOA as provocateurs, now watched the situation reverse as those he had championed fell to government intervention, a sword of their own creation.

Press headlines for July sixteenth presented facts.[72] Aulbach gave all six front-page columns to recounting the events leading to and following the Frisco and Gem battles. Like Jerome at the Tribune, Aulbach indicated that nonunion "scabs" began taunting union men as early as Saturday and that union miners armed themselves for protection only after seeing the Gem mine guards carrying rifles. Again in agreement with Jerome, and opposing the Dunn brothers, Aulbach reported that Frisco mill guards fired the first shots. Again, according to the Press, nonunion guards initiated the attack. Again, Aulbach said the miners "strenuously" maintained that no union man was involved in the Mission Massacre.

Aulbach delivered a solid report on the violent events of July eleventh, commendable by modern standards for its balance. Yet, something intangible had gone out of the Press. In a short editorial on the insurrection, portentously located on the final page, Aulbach's words carried a melancholy that identified his disappointment. Union violence had disillusioned the "voice of labor."[73]

> Although the provocation may be most grievous sometimes, it is much better to endure the ills that exist than to fly to more serious ones.... The vast body of the people always sympathize with labor organizations, but they cannot harmonize with bloody strife and destruction of property. Labor must be more conservative and reasoning, and capital should not try to crush because it has the power to drive.

With that, the Wallace Press ceased to exist. Sympathetic to the mine-owners, martial law administrators pressured Aulbach to stop his subversive agitator activities and outlawed union organization, thus dissolving both Aulbach's plant and readership.[74] On July twentieth, his cause suppressed, Aulbach sold to his most fearsome rival, the "Windmill Bombasticus," Robert E. "Barbarian" Brown.[75]

Martial Law: July-November 1892

While anti-union tirades continued to appear in the pro-MOA press, for the most part martial law changed the Coeur d'Alene editors' approach to partisanship. Overt class-oriented union/mine owner antagonism yielded to a battle of political party sympathies -- pro-capitalist Republican, pro-labor Democrat, and a new pro-labor Populism -- that coalesced during the 1892 fall election campaign.

The Dunns claimed Republican affiliation from the July 1887 start of their Wallace Free Press and their Miner became the official Republican party organ with its first issue in June 1890. Created by the Mine Owners' Association, the Barbarian, now edited by J. S. Langrishe, carried an unavoidable Republican bent. With a new-found anti-labor stance, Piggott's Statesman joined the Republican ranks. R. E. Brown, meanwhile, after parting with the Barbarian, began his new four-page Coeur d'Alene American [ex-Press] with a "DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE" that lasted two weeks before the American became Shoshone county's Republican scourge.[76]

With both pro-labor newspapers disbanded, union sympathizers banded together to fund the four-page Wallace Democrat on September 15, 1892. Managing editor Peter J. Holohan clarified the primary source of Shoshone county political funds: "since we have no strings on patent washing machine owners, promoted junk dealers, or members of the Mine Owners [sic] Association, we will probably receive but few large batches of guaranteed subscribers...."[77] As chairman of the Democratic central committee of Shoshone county Holohan also had a personal stake in the Democrat's success.[78]

The fiercest political rivalry of the campaign developed in the battle for Wallace, where Holohan's Democrat faced Brown's American and the Dunns' Miner. The rhetoric kept events of the recent months fresh in voters minds and used the emotion generated by those events to redefine capital versus labor as Republicanism versus Democracy. Holohan fired first with a reminder that the county's fate of martial law was unjust and should have stopped long ago.[79] Then he incriminated the Dunns, the mine owners, and Republicanism for "upholding the extraordinary methods of martial law at the expense of civil rights, [while] continually reiterating that 'it meets the approval of our best citizens,'" whom Holohan could only deduce were the MOA and its "toady's." Holohan closed by accusing the Republicans of using "tyranny, conspiracy, falsehood and criminal injustice, to gain them very questionable ends in Shoshone county."[80] To reinforce emerging political relationships, the Democrat titled its lead story on October 6: "REPUBLICAN AUTOCRATS. DOINGS OF COMMON PEOPLE AND DEMOCRATS."

The American refuted the Democrat's "nonsense" by warning voters that the struggle in Shoshone county was to restore "order and general activity or [to] relapse into the costly uncertainties of agitation which carries with it no profit for anyone."[81] Brown pounded his point by renewing Barbarian themes:

> Those working men of this country who have been deceived by tricky agitation should by this time have had enough experience

> with blatant demagogues....The Democratic platforms...are... flimsy, and sprinkled with anarchy....The Republican party favors organized labor, BUT THOSE ORGANIZATIONS MUST BE ADMINISTERED IN THE SPIRIT OF AMERICAN INSTITUTIONS....[T]he Republican party...will come nearer doing the right thing for the miners than the loudest mouthed "friend" (?) they have.[82]

But Holohan would not hear it. Calling his paper an "air purifying storm cloud," he said he had reconsidered and now believed "that the brains of the Republican party were refused recognition when the common folks [miners] were denied representation at the late Mullan love feast [Republican county convention], and the tools of the Silver Barons [mine owners] assumed sway."[83]

Brown's *American* and the Dunns' *Miner* retaliated at the "horny-headedness" of that remarkable "labor" journal, the Wallace *Democrat*.[84] One sore point revolved around the "*Weekly Anarchist*" [the *Democrat*] taking a pro-union stand on the equal wage. The Dunns accused Holohan of a double standard because he did not pay his union typesetters the usual Northwest union wage.[85]

After the resounding Democratic victory, Brown printed a flag at half-mast entitled "Shoshone's Misfortune." His caption captured the essence of the Republican capitalist perspective:

> This flag has...been riddled with bullet holes, and every principle it represents has suffered insult upon insult in this county. The Democratic party endorsed disloyalty, raised the flag of anarchy [i.e., unionism], and, has won its first battle. All we can do is mourn.... a calamity for Shoshone county.[86]

Within the month, R. E. Brown had left the Coeur d'Alenes.

An Evolving Journalism

With transformation to an early industrial society, the Coeur d'Alenes suddenly faced the onslaught of late-nineteenth century Social Darwinism, which influenced the direction of its journalism.[87]

Two community institutions -- labor and capital -- vied for the power to organize the Coeur d'Alenes' society and economy, and party politics eventually became their chosen field of battle. Political party partisanship finally developed in North Idaho, which brought nineteenth century journalism full circle to its 1820s roots. But it was socio-economic catalysts, not political parties, that had created and then continued Coeur d'Alene advocacy journalism.

The significance of this evolutionary path is found in its similarity and disparity to accepted journalism history. Works that traced the transition of journalism through the nineteenth century generally argued that political parties were the institutions that arose to define the social and economic power structures of 1820s and 1830s American communities. To gain power and to assure future revenues editors thus created highly partisan political newspapers to promote party ideologies -- ideologies that, in turn, set the boundaries for how editors interpreted and presented news events. Through it all, editors defined readers as voters. But by the end of the nineteenth century, the editors' support group had changed from a political party-base to one of advertisers. This change reflected the fact that the market had replaced politics as the dominant community institution. Since business defined readers as consumers, not voters, news content changed to accommodate the value shift.[88]

Early frontier journalism, meanwhile, evolved beneath the influence of an agriculture-based, and later a mineral prospecting-based, tradition. Both frontiers relied heavily on party politics and civic government to organize their respective fledgling-town and transient-camp societies, which newspapers reflected with party partisanship.[89]

But by the late 1880s the Coeur d'Alenes had become a wage workers' frontier that produced two new institutions that superseded political parties. As corporate mining companies and organized labor fought for community control, their ideologies led to a social class advocacy journalism. Editors like the Dunn brothers and R. E. Brown became vociferous advocates of the capitalist sensibility and others like Adam Aulbach and F. K. Jerome heralded the rights of labor.

Like their early century forebears, but with a different focus, Coeur d'Alene editors sought personal power and remuneration through their class partisanship. Adam Aulbach, for instance, gambled on the workers, and lost, in a context where it was reasonable to assume the union might have established itself as the guiding socio-economic power. On the other hand, having chosen to adopt mine owner values, the Dunn brothers in a sense assured themselves of continued community support when martial law ended the union's bid for control. Similar to political party patronage, such decision making was necessary if Coeur d'Alene editors were to develop sufficient revenue to survive.[90] But opposing the victor would, as the Press and Tribune learned, "dry-up" future revenue.[91] Perhaps that is why Piggott's Osburn Statesman catered to both labor and capital as the moment dictated, finally promoting the mine owners' when martial law silenced the union.

The demise of the Wallace Press and Mullan Tribune also indicated that journalistic freedom is dictated in part by the institutions that control the socio-economic atmosphere of a community. Martial law returned control to the mine owners and compromised freedom of editor choice. To that moment, editors decided, with whatever prompting, to represent the social class institution (MOA or union) they believed might be victorious, counting on an ultimate debt of gratitude to keep them in business afterwards, a debt earned by championing the particular chosen cause. When martial law eliminated the union as a viable social contender, both pro-labor newspapers disappeared within a few weeks and any mention of labor class ideology surfaced not overtly but covertly through the new Democratic party papers. Reassertion of mine owner control thus compromised the editors' freedom to choose direct support of the unions and proudly defiant pro-labor class advocacy newspapers, for the moment, ceased to exist.

Thus, while Coeur d'Alene newspapers always reported and commented on political issues and events, fervent political party partisanship did not surface until the class values of the Mine Owners' Association and the Miners' Union became identified with certain political ideologies and parties in the early 1890s. When the MOA, for example, asked the Republican state and federal government administrations it had helped elect to squash the union, Coeur d'Alene editors began to bolster their editorial social arguments with political party referents. The intent -- for the labor class to elect Democratic or Populist officials to counteract "rampant" Republicanism based on capitalist values, and for the capitalist class to sustain societal control.

But it was not until after the violence of July 1892 that true political party partisanship arose. Under martial law, with the miners' unions defunct and the mine owners controlling the district, the social class battle, with a prompt from Coeur d'Alene editors, shifted to a political party forum that represented class ideologies, for the battle could not otherwise continue. In this context, like their predecessors of the early century, Coeur d'Alene editors again viewed readers as voters -- voters who could decide the community power structure. But, reversing past trends, socio-economics had guided the editors to political parties. Coeur d'Alene journalism had crystallized by 1892 to exemplify the force socio-economic catalysts can play in the evolution of American journalism, through the impetus of social institutions vying for power.

The significance of this case study, however, rests 1) in its ability to identify such societal agents, which establish a conceptual framework for future analysis and 2) in the challenge to generalize its conclusions. For example: In an age of emerging non-partisan commercial journalism, was Coeur d'Alene class advocacy journalism an isolated event or representative of early industrial wage worker frontiers where social class institutions, not political parties, struggled for socio-economic supremacy? Was it common on such industrial frontiers that socio-economic catalysts produced a social class advocacy journalism that assumed political party partisanship only when the triumphant institution drove the class struggle underground? And, if wide-spread, did such class advocacy journalism influence the evolution of American journalism generally, or is journalism more intricate, irreducible, and regionalized than historians credit? Such comparison can thus provide a more accurate assessment of the impact of Coeur d'Alene-type social class advocacy journalism.

Notes

[1] Richard G. Magnuson, *Coeur d'Alene Diary: The First Ten Years of Hardrock Mining in North Idaho*, 2nd ed. (Portland,OR: Binford & Mort 1983): 252.

[2] Miners' unions throughout the West agreed on May 19, 1893, to consolidate as the Western Federation of Miners. Impetus came from Coeur d'Alene Miners' Union leaders as they sat in the Idaho state penitentiary in Boise after the July 1892 violence in North Idaho. The WFM's major purpose was to secure fair compensation and protection from unnecessary risk to health and safety. The Coeur d'Alene conflict of 1892 directly produced three WFM constitutional demands: the passage of laws to prevent mine owners from hiring of Pinkerton Detectives or private armies; the repeal of conspiracy laws that interfered with union rights, and; the preference in hiring policies for union members. Preamble to the *Constitution* of the Western Federation of Miners (1893). The local Coeur d'Alene miners' unions became charter members of the new Federation. The next year, Edward Boyce, President of the Wardner Miners' Union, was elected to the WFM executive board and in 1896 became its president. *Miners' Magazine* (June 1901): 20. Also see Richard E. Lingenfelter, *The Hardrock Miners: A History of the Mining Labor Movement in the American West, 1863-1893*. (Berkeley: University of California Press 1974); Stanley S. Phipps, *From Bull Pen to Bargaining Table: The Tumultuous Struggle of the Coeur d'Alenes Miners for the Right to Organize, 1887-1942*. (New York: Garland 1988).

[3] For example, see: Magnuson; Phipps; John M. Henderson, William S. Schiach, and Harry B. Averill, *An Illustrated History of North Idaho Embracing Nez Perces, Idaho, Latah, Kootenai, and Shoshone Counties* (Spokane, WA: Western Historical Publishing Co. 1903); Robert W. Smith, *The Coeur d'Alene Mining War of 1892: A Case Study of Internal Dispute* (Corvallis: Oregon State University Press 1961); Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States. Volume II: From the Founding of the American Federation of Labor to the Emergence of American Imperialism, Chap. 15* (New York: International Publishers 1955); William S. Greever, *The Bonanza West: The Story of the Western Mining Rushes, 1848-1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press 1963); Vernon H. Jensen, *Heritage of Conflict: Labor Relations in the Nonferrous Metals Industry up to 1930, Chap. IV* (New York: Greenwood Press 1968); Thomas Carpenter, "Labor Conflict in the Mining Industry of the Coeur d'Alenes, 1892 and 1899," Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, New York University, New York City (1973).

[4] For political-to-economic evolution see: Gerald J. Baldasty, *The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press 1992); Hazel Dicken-Garcia, *Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press 1989).

[5] The next studies consider the extractive industries of the Pacific Northwest ranging from 1880 to the First World War, including mining, logging, milling, fishing/oystering, ranching, and agriculture. Future considerations will then expand in geography and time period.

[6] For description of the Coeur d'Alene district see: Henderson et al.; Smith; Magnuson; "Souvenir -- Coeur d'Alene Mining District," presented by Wallace Aerie No. 54 F.O.E. (Eagles), 1906.

[7] See: Carlos A. Schwantes, "Unemployment, Disinheritance, and the Origins of Labor Militancy in the Pacific Northwest, 1885-86." In *Experiences in a Promised Land: Essays in Pacific Northwest History*, G. Thomas Edwards & Carlos A. Schwantes (eds.) (Seattle: University of Washington Press 1986): 179-194; Schwantes, "The Concept of the Wage Workers' Frontier: A Framework for Future Research," *Western Historical Quarterly* (January 1987): 39-55. Schwantes, *The Pacific Northwest: An Interpretive History*, "Part III: From Frontier to Urban-Industrial Society" and Chap. 13 "Evolution of the Wage-workers' Frontier" (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska 1989): 251; Robert H. Blank, *Individualism in Idaho: The Territorial Foundations* (Pullman: Washington State University Press 1988); Richard H. Peterson, *The Bonanza Kings: The Social Origins and Business Behavior of Western Mining Entrepreneurs, 1870-1900* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press 1991): 68; David J. Vergobbi, "Hybrid Journalism: Bridging the Frontier/ Commercial Cusp on the Coeur d'Alene Mining Frontier, Chapters I and III," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, Seattle (1992); Walker De Marquis Wyman, Jr., "The Underground Miner, 1860-1910: Labor and Industrial Change in the Northern Rockies," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, Seattle (1971): 23-24. Gold, silver, and lead production figures verify the Coeur d'Alenes' transition from pioneer to early industrial. The total value of recoverable metals in 1884 was $258,375. In 1887 it reached $1,022,996 and more than doubled in 1889 to 2,532,978. Production nearly doubled again within the next year, 1890 ($4,132, 506), and the next, 1891 ($4,868,356). The 1892 downturn is apparent as the production total dropped to $3,538,684, but bounced back through the depression year of 1893 ($4,258,621). See "Table 16," *Minerals Yearbook, 1963*. (Washington D.C.: GPO 1963): 354.

[8] That the Coeur d'Alenes did face a social class conflict see a contemporary, if biased, report in Job Harriman, *The Class War in Idaho. The Horrors of the Bullpen. An Indictment of Combined Capital in Conspiracy with President McKinley, General Merriam and Governor Steunenberg, for their Crimes Against the Minors* (*sic*) *of the Coeur d'Alenes*, 3rd ed. (New York: The Volks-Zeitung Library 1900; Seattle: Facsimile reproduction, The Shorey Book Store 1966).

[9] Jean Blondel, *Political Parties: A Genuine Case for Discontent*? (London: Wildwood House 1978): 13.

[10] See: Seymour M. Lipset and Stein Rokkan, Party Systems and Voter Alignments (New York: Free Press 1967); Seymour M. Lipset, The Social Bases of Politics (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press 1981); Klaus Von Beyme, Political Parties in Western Democracies, Chap. 1, "The Emergence of Modern Party Systems" (New York: St. Martin's Press 1985).

[11] Leon Epstein, Political Parties in Western Democracies (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Publishers 1979): 9.

[12] Giovanni Sartori, Parties and Party Systems (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1976): 64.

[13] Kay Lawson (ed.), Political Parties and Linkage (New Haven, CN: Yale University Press 1980): 3.

[14] E. E. Schattschneider, Party Government (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston 1942): 59.

[15] Gerald M. Pomper, Passions and Interests: Political Party Concepts of American Democracy (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas 1992): 11. Pomper noted the Populists, Progressives, and other third parties as examples of the "social movement" party concept.

[16] Carl N. Degler, The Age of the Economic Revolution, 1876-1900 (Glenview: Scott, Foresman and Co. 1967): 132; Foner, pp. 105-107. It is not known how many workers died in the McCormick strike and Haymarket massacre.

[17] See: Foner; Jensen; Melvyn Dubofsky, Industrialism and the American Worker, 2nd ed. (Arlington Heights: Harlan Davidson, Inc. 1985).

[18] See: Melvyn Dubofsky, "The Origins of Western Working Class Radicalism, 1890-1905," Labor History, 8 (Spring 1966): 137-138; Jensen, pp. 39-40; E. Hoyt, The Guggenheims and the American Dream (New York: Funk and Wagnalls 1967): 171-172; Lewis Atherton, "Structure and Balance in Western Mining History," Huntington Library Quarterly, 30 (Nov. 1966): 81-84; Joseph R. Conlin, Big Bill Haywood and the Radical Union Movement (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press 1969): 22-24. Quote Conlin, p. 24.

[19] Richard J. Hinton, "American Labor Organizations," North American Review, January 1885, pp. 33-38.

[20] The Wallace Idaho State Tribune appeared on September 20, 1894.

[21] The article concluded: "[T]here was some trouble as to the assignment, but Adam Aulbach, being the most rabid and best able to play Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde, was told to take the labor side, while the dunns [sic] were to again fight for "principle"--i.e., against the laborer.... The course of the Barbarian, its whys and wherefores,

needs no explanation here; suffice it to say that its policy in ridiculling [sic] and belittling the honest laborer is as obnoxious to all fair-minded persons as are Aulbach's tirades against a man who happens to own a mine.

True, both Browne [sic] and Aulbach have personal axes to grind. Aulbach aspires to an office within the gift of the voters of Shoshone county, and to make himself popular with the men who vote is his chief aim. Browne, of course, depends on the mine owners for his subsistence; being a mining engineer he has little to expect from the working miner, and cares very little for his enmity or friendship. The Mullan Tribune goes as goes Aulbach, while the Miner, the mouth piece and official (mouth) organ of the republican party in the Coeur d'Alenes, may have some difficulty in explaining away its action to the voters just before election day, for many of the working miners are republicans." Osburn Coeur d'Alene Statesman, 6 June 1892, p. 1, c. 3.

[22] For example: As we shall see, most miners were Democrats or Populists by 1892. R. E. Brown was a mining engineer and surveyor "in addition to being an editor [paid by the MOA] whose every line now rankles nine readers out of ten," so he did have a contractual obligation to the MOA, Coeur d'Alene Barbarian, 2 April 1892, p. 4, c. 2. And on November 6, 1894, Shoshone county voters did elect Adam Aulbach county commissioner for 1895 and 1896. But there is no apparent connection to Aulbach's actions during 1892. Commissioners' Journal, Book C; Henderson et al., p. 1023. Piggott's is the only account of the alleged meeting of the Wallace county seat committee in April 1892. The newspapers, however, were clearly aligned as pro-union or pro-MOA long before the alleged meeting "decided" to assign such alliances. The Dunn brothers' Free Press of 1887-1889, in fact, anticipated their Coeur d'Alene Miner as a pro-capitalist newspaper.

[23] New York Typographical Union No. 6 and that he was a charter member and by-law committee chair of Typographical Union No. 21 of San Francisco. Wallace Press, 2 July 1892, p. 2, c. 1; Portland (OR) Laborist, 25 June 1892, as reprinted in Wallace Press, 2 July 1892, p. 2, c. 2; Magnuson, p. 211. Local Coeur d'Alene unions united on January 1, 1891, to form the first federation in hard rock mining history. The formation date is disputed. The most authoritative primary source is Thomas O'Brien in his affidavit dated May 27, 1892, and filed before the U. S. Circuit Court in and for the District of Idaho, in the case of The Coeur d'alene Mining and Concentrating Company v. the Miners' Union of Wardner (1892) [Now 7-N, Federal Records Center, Seattle, WA].

[24] Wallace Press, 21 May 1892, p. 1, c.4. Alfred J. Dunn and John L. Dunn sold the Free Press to Aulbach in June 1889. No evidence exists that the miners' unions or Democratic party subsidized Aulbach's partisanship. The first Democratic-funded newspaper, the Democrat, appeared in September 1892. The first union-funded paper, the Idaho State Tribune, arrived September 1894. Wallace Democrat, 15 September 1892, p. 2, c. 1; John Hailey, History of Idaho (Boise, ID:

Syms-York Co. 1910): 601; Wallace *Idaho State Tribune*, 20 September 1894, p. 1, c. 2; Henderson et al., p. 1212.

[25] Mullan *Tribune*, 12 March 1892, p. 2, c. 1; 16 April 1892, p. 2, c. 2; Osburn *Coeur d'Alene Statesman*, 6 June 1892, p. 1, c. 2. Under H. C. Piggott's control, the *Tribune* revolved around promoting the town of Mullan and voiced a comparatively consistent political independence. Aulbach purchased the *Tribune* on March 1, 1892, and installed first W. L. Taylor then F. K. Jerome as publisher/ editor. Mullan *Tribune*, 12 March 1892, p. 2, c. 1; 16 April 1892, p. 2, c. 2; 27 July 1892, p. 2, c. 1. The *Tribune* fluctuated between four- and eight-page editions, most, however, were four-page. Aulbach suspended the *Tribune* at the end of July 1892 when he could not find a buyer. Osburn *Coeur d'Alene Statesman*, 1 August 1892, p. 4, c. 4. W. H. Stewart resurrected the plant as the republican Mullan *Mirror* in early 1899. Larson and Greenough took control in October 1899 and published the *Mirror* until July 1903. Henderson et al., p. 1214.

[26] Mullan *Tribune*, 4 May 1892, p. 4, c. 1.

[27] John Fahey, "Coeur d'Alene Confederacy," *Idaho Yesterdays* (Spring 1968): 3.

[28] The exact formation date is disputed, but practically all historians agree the year was 1891. See Smith, pp. 28-29: Ed Boyce, for example, believed it formed as early as 1890 in Helena, MT, while many Coeur d'Alene mine owners were associated together on the Spokane Stock Exchange in 1890 and 1891, Boyce, "Crime of the Century--Worse Than Siberian Cruelties Under the American Flag--The Inquisition Outdone--Full Account of the Idaho Infamy by the President of the Federation of Western Miners," Senate Document 25, 56th Congress, 1st Session, December 11, 1899; Henderson et al. date it on February 16, 1891, and claim it was the first of its kind in the nation, p. 1000; Jensen puts the organizational meeting in October 1891, p. 29; but the M.O.A. name first appeared in newspapers during August and the Bunker Hill strike, Spokane *Review*, 14 August 1891, in Lew Robert's open letter "To a Generous and Justice Loving Public."

[29] Charles A. Siringo took a job at the Gem mine in Burke under the name of C. Leon Allison, joined the union, and by December was elected its recording secretary with access to all union records. He held this critical position for seven months. Charles A. Siringo, "The Trouble in the Coeur d'Alene," *Wide World Magazine* 53:1 (c. 1893): 4-9. In the Idaho State Historical Society collection, Boise, ID. Also see Charles A. Siringo, *A Cowboy Detective, A True Story of Twenty-Two Years with a World Famous Detective Agency, Giving the Inside Facts of the Bloody Coeur d'Alene Labor Riots* (New York.: J. S. Ogilvie 1912).

[30] The Wardner edition ran through July 1893 then reappeared as the *News* in August under new ownership. Wallace *Coeur d'Alene Miner*, 23 January 1892, p. 4, c. 3. The first Wardner edition of the *Coeur*

d'Alene Barbarian appeared on January 23, 1892.

[31] Magnuson, p. 239, for example, wrote that martial law administrators "General Curtis and General Carlin both were upset with Adam Aulbach, who had been defying them in a quiet way; possibly he tempted them to arrest a member of the press. General Curtis lost his temper and said, 'Mr. Aulbach, you are a murderer.' No matter how one looked at it, Adam was having trouble in Wallace [July 1892]." The Barbarian, the Miner and the Statesman frequently attacked Aulbach as an agitator as well.

[32] Phipps, pp. 10-11. This "anarchy myth," used by capitalists throughout the late nineteenth century, distorted Coeur d'Alene mine management's attitudes toward labor for decades. See Foner, p. 107; Phipps, p. 11. That the Mine Owners' Association adopted the anarchy and outside agitator belief is evident in the "MINE OWNERS STATEMENT" published in the Spokane Review, 27 March, 1892, reprinted in Wallace Press, 2 April 1892, p. 1; in Henderson et al., pp. 1001-1004.

[33] Wardner/Wallace Coeur d'Alene Barbarian, 9 April 1892, p. 4, c. 1-2.

[34] F. K. Jerome, for example, called the Barbarian "the charnel house of dead hopes and the sepulchre of honest endeavor" and warned editor Brown he would succumb to "an outraged public" which Brown did not consider "with even the respect of decency." Mullan Tribune, 4 May 1892, p. 4, c. 1. Newspaper reaction outside the district also indicated the impact and wide circulation of Coeur d'Alene newspapers:"'The Barbarian Abroad' (Laborist, Portland, Or.) We are in receipt of a newspaper published at Wallace, Idaho, called the "Barbarian." It is published by the Mine Owners' Association, and is devoted almost entirely to maligning Union miners and placing the mine owners in a favorable light before the public. Judging from the copy before us, the name is not a misnomer." Reprinted in Wallace Press, 28 May 1892, p. 1, c. 2.

[35] Vergobbi, "Chapter III: Society Transformed, 1887-1889."

[36] The Dunn brothers partnered W. H. Fortier and made Aaron Frost their business manager.

[37] Wallace Coeur d'Alene Miner, 11 June 1892, p. 4, c. 1.

[38] Wallace Coeur d'Alene Miner, 11 June 1892, p. 4, c. 1.

[39] For a succinct discussion of the influx of capital into western mining fields and resultant societal change, especially the boarding house situation, see O'Brien affidavit; Wyman, pp. 14-31; Phipps, pp. 5-9; Edward C. Kirkland, Industry Comes of Age: Business, Labor, and Public Policy, 1860-1897 (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston 1961): generally. Peterson, pp. 75-76, 80-82, 142, provided example of enlightened mine owners who, "unwilling to accept the possible

consequences of a tough, unyielding policy designed to minimize the costs of labor," worked with labor to prevent worker dissatisfaction and violence. Peterson concluded that perhaps "local or regional [mine owner] residence, as well as an awareness of the limitations of a hard-line policy, explained the working-class stability enjoyed by" these owners.

[40] It's "loyalty [was] to the republican party, and it attache[d] to individuals only so long as they represent[ed] the principles and purposes of that party." Wallace *Coeur d'Alene Miner*, 5 March 1892, p. 4, c. 1.

[41] Henderson et al., pp. 1016-1025, tabulated the election returns in Shoshone county on national, state, and county tickets. The events of 1891-1892 politized the Coeur d'Alene district. "More and more, the county was being divided into two antagonistic camps" -- labor and capital. By 1894, Shoshone became Idaho's leading Populist county. Edward Boyce, president of the Western Federation of Miners and Wardner resident, became a Populist state senator in 1894, which exemplified the union sympathy. William J. Gaboury, "From Statehouse to Bull Pen: Idaho Populism and the Coeur d'Alene Troubles of the 1890's," *Pacific Northwest Quarterly* (January 1967): 14-32.

[42] See Smith, p. 50 and generally.

[43] Wallace *Press*, 4 June 1892, p. 2, c.

[44] Wallace *Miner*, 4 June 1892, p. 4, c. 1-2.

[45] Wallace *Press*, 4 June 1892, p. 1, c. 4.

[46] Wallace *Press*, 2 July 1892, p. 2, c. 1; 11 June 1892, p. 4, c. 1.

[47] Wallace *Press*, 2 July 1892, p. 1, c. 5; Smith, p. 60; Magnuson, p. 212; Governor Norman B. Willey Papers, file 4, 5. Idaho State Historical Society, Idaho State Archives, Boise, ID [AR 2/2].

[48] Wallace *Press*, 2 July 1892, p. 2, c. 1; p. 1, c. 5.

[49] Wardner/Wallace *Barbarian*, 2 July 1892, p. 2, c. 1.

[50] Mullan *Tribune*, 6 July 1892, p. 2, c. 1.

[51] Smith, pp. 61-63; Magnuson, pp. 213-215.

[52] Foner, p. 206.

[53] The July 9, 1892, *Barbarian* was not available. The *Tribune* published on Wednesdays so the Homestead news, which occured on Wednesday, July 6, was not available for that issue and by the next week the paper had its own labor/management violence to report. The

Statesman, which published on Mondays, faced a similar situation.

[54] Wallace Press, 9 July 1892, p. 1, c. 3. Foner, p. 210, reports nine total deaths.

[55] Wallace Press, 4 June 1892, p. 2, c.

[56] Recording secretary C. Leon Allison, actually Pinkerton detective Charles A. Siringo, blamed his downfall on an over zealous press. "The Mine-Owners' Association were interested in a weekly paper called the Barbarian.... One issue of this sheet contained certain details about the Gem Miners' Union which could only have been given out by a member of that union. As I was the secretary and had charge of the books, the finger of accusation was pointed in my direction." Charles A. Siringo, "The Trouble in the Coeur d'lene," Wide World Magazine 58:1 (c. 1893): 5; Riata and Spurs, p. 164.

[57] Smith, p. 63, quoting Coeur d'Alene district judge Fremont Wood, the last surviving participant of the 1892 events, in a interview at Boise, Idaho, July 14, 1936.

[58] Smith, p. 65.

[59] For a detailed account of 1892 events in Gem and Wardner see Smith, pp. 61-73. For contemporary pro-mine owner interpretations of the events see: George Edgar French, "The Coeur d'Alene Riots, 1892. A Story of a Great Strike," Overland Monthly 26 (July 1895): 32-49. French served as a 1st Lieutenant with the 4th U. S. Infantry during the 1892 period of martial law in the Coeur d'Alenes; F. R. Culbertson, "The Coeur d'Alene Mining District, The Lead Belt of the Coeur d'Alenes." In Hailey, pp. 431-438. Culbertson was the owner/ manager of the Tiger mine in Burke; William T. Stoll, Silver Strike: The True Story of the Silver Mining in the Coeur d'Alenes (Boston: Little, Brown 1932). Stoll was lawyer and spokesman for the Mine Owners' Association and a good friend of Charles A. Siringo; Siringo, "Trouble," Cowboy. For contemporary pro-labor reports see: Boyce; Harriman.

[60] Smith, p. 50.

[61] Willey papers, File 7: "Dear Sir: Please publish enclosed proclamation in Barbarian, an insertion which I hereby designate as a proper paper for that purpose under Sec. 7406 R. S. Respectfully, N. B. Willey."

[62] Telegrams from Governor Willey to President Harrison, to Sheriff Cunningham, Wallace, to General Curtis, Wallace, to Senator Shoup, Washington, D. C., to John Hays Hammond [Bunker Hill & Sullivan mine owner], San Francisco, To officer commanding Fort Missoula, 11 July 1892, to General Curtis, Cataldo, Idaho, to General Carlin, Fort Sherman [Coeur d'Alene City], to General J. M. Schofield, Washington D. C., Brigadier General Ruger, San Francisco, 12 July 1892, Willey

Papers, File 5. Quote from Willey telegram to General James. F. Curtis, 14 July 1892, Willey Papers, File 5. Martial law existed from July 14 to November 19, 1892, Spokane Review, 19 November 1892, p. 2. Smith, p, 84; Henderson et al., pp. 1005-1006.

[63] Mullan Tribune, 13 July 1892, p. 1, c. 1.

[64] "Immediately upon the opening of fire by the Frisco guards those stationed at the Gem did the same and began firing at random into the heart of the town and making a target of any person who appeared, regardless of who or what he was. There were many women and children in the houses that were struck and it is little short of a miracle that some were not killed." Mullan Tribune, 13 July 1892, p. 1, c. 1.

[65] One woman, for example, "escaped only by accident" because her baby was lying on the floor and she stooped down to pick it up and carry it to another room. As she bent over, Jerome wrote, "a bullet crashed through the door and passed just over her head.... Had she waited two seconds longer she would have received the bullet in the breast." Mullan Tribune, 13 July 1892, p. 1, c. 1.

[66] Wallace Coeur d'Alene Miner, 16 July 1892, p. 1.

[67] The Dunns claimed that non-union men did not begin to fire until bullets started tearing through the roof of the shed where they hid. They returned fire then ran for the mill's protection.

[68] "It deserved death [for when] any organization in this land assumes the right to demand of an American citizen a passport of its membership to assure him safety under the stars and stripes, it can not be too soon wiped from the face of the earth."

[69] "The mining trouble in the Coeur d'Alenes culminated on last Monday morning when a fierce encounter took place between the union and non-union men at Gem, in which several men were killed and a number badly wounded. Between 7 and 8 o'clock the Frisco mill was blown up, and shortly after the Gem employees surrendered and the miners' union men were left masters of the situation." Wardner/Wallace Barbarian, 16 July 1892, p. 1, c. 1.

[70] Although he did not attend the meeting he described and did not identify his sources, as an employee of the Mine Owners' Association, Brown did have access to the five MOA members who dealt with the union officers. According to Brown, union men were Thomas O'Brien, president of the Central union, Edward Boyce of the Wardner union, Thomas Heney of Mullan and Glover of Burke, "all of whom were armed with rifles, which they held in their hands during the entire interview." Mine-owners were Victor M. Clement, Frank Jenkins, Charles Sweeney, F. Rockwood Moore, and George McAuley. Wardner/Wallace Barbarian, 16 July 1892, p.1, c.1.

[71] For example: "Last week peace, this week war. However bitter the controversy between capital and labor may be, labor always gets a further set back by resorting to arms and bloodshed. Those who live by the sword shall die by the sword, is an old proverb, and labor is not trained in that school." Wallace Press, 16 July 1892, p. 4, c. 1.

[72] "PEACE AND WAR. The Coeur d'Alenes Suddenly Plunged Into Chaos. SIX MEN KILLED AND ABOUT SEVENTEEN WOUNDED. A Dastardly and Fiendish Deed at the Mission. Shoshone County Placed Under Martial Law and Several Regiments of Troops in the South Fork Valley." Wallace Press, 16 July 1892, p. 1, c. 1.

[73] Magnuson, p. 252.

[74] See note 61; Magnuson, pp. 237-242; Smith pp. 50, 80-84.

[75] Wallace Press, 2 July 1892, p. 1, c. 5. Aulbach, finding no buyer, closed his Mullan Tribune within the month. He returned to the North Fork of the Coeur d'Alene River to reopen his Murray Coeur d'Alene Sun where he lived out his days and ended his journalistic crusading.

[76] Wallace American, 23 July 1892, p. 2, c. 3.

[77] Wallace Democrat, 15 September 1892, p. 2, c. 1.

[78] Hailey, p. 601.

[79] Wallace Democrat, 22 September 1892, p. 2, c. 2.

[80] Wallace Democrat, 22 September 1892, p. 2, c. 3.

[81] Wallace American, 29 October 1893, p. 2, c. 3.

[82] Wallace American, 15 October 1893, p. 2, c. 2-3.

[83] Wallace Democrat, 6 October 1893, p. 2, c. 3.

[84] Wallace American, 5 November 1893, p. 2, c. 1.

[85] Wallace Miner, 5 November 1893, p. 4, c. 2.

[86] Wallace American, 12 November 1893, p. 1, c. 3-4.

[87] Richard Hofstadter, Social Darwinism in American Thought, rev. ed. (New York: George Braziller, Inc. 1959). William Graham Sumner, divided society between capitalists and laborers, or employer and employee, and he made it clear that capitalists were "a product of natural selection." Sumner also warned that if one person succeeded in this struggle better than another, the latter had no grounds to complain, even if those who possessed capital admittedly did have "immeasurable advantages" over those who did not. William Graham

Sumner, What Social Classes Owe To Each Other (Caldwell, ID: Caxton 1989 [1883]): 17, 76.

[88] Baldasty, pp. 5, 143; Dicken-Garcia, Chap. 3: "Changes in News during the Nineteenth Century."

[89] See, for example, William E. Huntzicker, "Historiographical essay: Historians of the American Frontier Press," American Journalism, V (1988): 28-45; Thomas H. Heuterman, "Assessing the 'Press on Wheels': Individualism in Frontier Journalism," Jouralism Quarterly 53 (Autumn 1976): 423-428; David Fridtjof Halaas, Boom Town Newspapers: Journalism on the Rocky Mountain Mining Frontier, 1859-1881 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press 1981).

[90] Porter A. Stratton, The Territorial Press of New Mexico, 1835-1912 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press 1969): 199.

[91] Stratton, p. 199.

TABLE 1: Newspapers involved in the 1892 Coeur d'Alene Mining District Labor/Capital War and aftermath.

Town	Newspaper	Partisanship	Editor	Dates Pub.
Mullan	Tribune	Miners' Union	F. K. Jerome[1]	Mar. 1889-Aug. 1892
Wallace	Press	Miners' Union	A. Aulbach	Sept. 1889-July 1892
Osburn	Coeur d'Alene Statesman	opportunistic[2]	H. C. Piggott	Apr. 1890-May 1893
Wallace	Coeur d'Alene Miner	Mine Owners	J. L. Dunn A. J. Dunn	June 1890-Nov. 1896
Wardner/ Wallace	Coeur d'Alene Barbarian	Mine Owners	R. E. Brown/ J.S. Langrishe	Jan. 1892-July 1893
Wallace	Coeur d'ALene American	Republican/ pro-owners	R. E. Brown	July 1892-Mar. 1893
Wallace	Democrat	Democratic/ pro-union	P. J. Holohan	Sept. 1892-Nov. 1893

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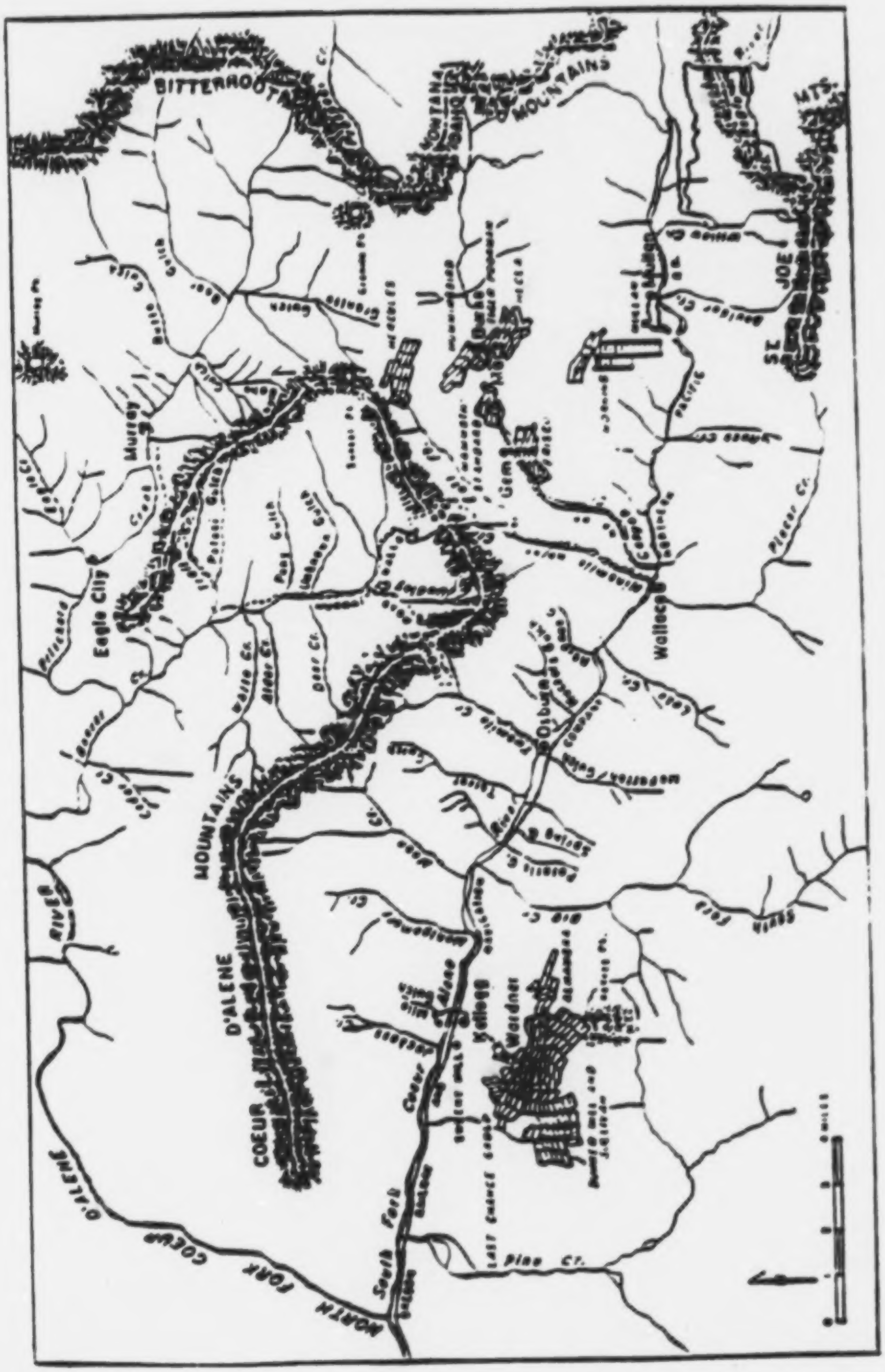
1. Editor during period studied.
2. Piggott's goal was to bring the county seat to Osburn. He frequently shifted allegiance to court the then dominant socio-economic institution. When the mine owners triumphed over the union, Piggott became their loudest adherent.

MAP 1 - Coeur d'Alene Vicinity: Mine Locations.


BITTERROOT
MOUNTAINS
MONTANA
IDAHO
ST. JOE MTS.
Murray
Eagle City
Gem
Wallace
Placer Cr.
Kellogg
Wardner
COEUR D'ALENE MOUNTAINS
RIVER
NORTH FORK COEUR D'ALENE
South Fork
Coeur d'Alene
Pine Cr.
Big Cr.

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PILFERING THE NEWS: A QUALITY COMPARISON OF THE WORLD AND JOURNAL'S SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR COVERAGE

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April 1, 1994

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Abstract

Historians cite the "yellow journalism" practices of large New York City dailies as a cause of the Spanish-American War of 1898. The Journal and World are usually identified as indulging in the worst excesses. However, a tentative content analysis of their war coverage shows that they observed many of the quality standards used today. "Sensational" offenses often can be linked to sourcing practices that resemble those used by some of the current press and to a philosophy of activism.

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Pilfering the News: A Quality Comparison of the World and Journal's Spanish-American War Coverage

Most press historians cite the "yellow journalism" practices of large New York City dailies as one of the main causes of the Spanish-American War of 1898. William Randolph Hearst's Journal and Joseph Pulitzer's World are usually identified as indulging in the worst journalistic excesses to boost circulation.

Although it is fair to say that the yellow press and particularly the World and Journal contributed to the war psychosis in the country (Emery & Emery, 1984, p. 288), it is equally important to note that they played different roles. Berg and Berg (1968, p. 655) point out that the Journal was a key shaper of public opinion while the World followed public opinion. Their publishers also had different political agendas. Pulitzer opposed the McKinley administration's expansionistic policies and favored a quick war fought with the superior U.S. Navy and not the unprepared Army. Hearst favored expansion of American interests in the Pacific and Caribbean and urged the government to employ both the Army and the Navy .

While these political and marketplace differences are sometimes examined, researchers usually don't investigate their impact on the quality of the war coverage, or they let modern notions about responsible journalism influence the quality yardsticks used. Some of the quality standards for news contemporaneous with the World and Journal are the same as those observed today. For instance, editors at both publications put a premium on timely coverage and prominent subjects. However, the philosophy of "good journalism" and activism shared by 1890s publishers and correspondents made for a flexible interpretation of the truth.

This paper compares the World and Journal's war coverage to illustrate some of the strong quality parallels with today's press as well as the deviations permitted by the press philosophy of the time.

Method

This researcher examined each final, morning edition of the World and the Journal published between May 1, 1898, and July 4, 1898. This period includes most of the "shooting" war between Spain and the United States in the Philippines and Cuba, but not in Puerto Rico. Gen. Nelson Miles's Puerto Rican (or Porto Rico as it was known then) campaign took place in the latter part of July. However, the period selected for study includes major land and sea battles at widely separated points and does not give any single publication a geographical advantage. Therefore, adding the Puerto Rican campaign would not strengthen the sample.

For two breaking stories, specific, comparative notes were made about how World and Journal correspondents handled quality issues of timeliness, sourcing, credibility and completeness. I also made systematic, but general observations about sourcing and threats to quality that editors complained of in print. These threats fall into the general categories of censorship by officials and interference from competitors, usually in the form of stealing a story. Finally, I examined "gimmick" or "stunt" stories that both publications indulged in to see if quality rules were suspended for them.

General Analysis

Gimmick stories

Rather than bending quality rules to accommodate them, World and Journal editors often used "gimmick" or "stunt" stories to market the timeliness of their coverage to readers or to validate its accuracy.

One of the most popular stunts was the delivery of important war news to prominent people before official sources could perform the same service. For instance, when E. W. Harden cabled his exclusive account of Rear Admiral George Dewey's May 1 Manila Bay victory to the World at 4:22 a.m. on May 7, 1898, the editors also telegraphed a copy to the admiral's son, George Dewey, Jr., who lived in New York City. The telegram was delivered at 5 a.m.; World reporters interviewed the admiral's son later in the day.

The World also printed a later testimonial from the admiral, who validated Harden's account:

> . . .I congratulate the World on the excellence of its report. It was a graphic description, better, perhaps than could have been written by one on board any of the fighting ships. I congratulate the World on its enterprise in getting the first story as cabled by Mr. Harden before even my official reports reached Washington. I am still wondering how it got through, as I was under the impression I had control of the wires. (World, 1898, June 28, p. 1)

Similar World stunts yielded more than just reaction stories. In its June 11, 1898, issue, the paper reported a novel follow-up to the Spanish capture of a handful of American sailors near Santiago. The sailors, who were the first American prisoners of war, gained instant celebrity status. World editors cabled the Santiago garrison commander and inquired about the prisoners' health; Spanish authorities obligingly permitted the British consul to interview the prisoners and to reply to the World's inquiry.

The Journal was equally as adept, garnering praise for its speedy news gathering from President McKinley on June 3, 1898. He thanked the editors for a private cable the night before that included details about a naval engagement.

The gimmick story could and often did degenerate into shameless self-promotion. Shortly after Admiral William T. Sampson's fleet shelled the port facilities at San Juan, P.R., the World sent reporter Marie Manning to Palmyra, N.Y., the admiral's hometown. She began her Sunday profile of Sampson a bit disingenuously by recreating an overheard conversation between a local man and his son: "Here, Tommy, run down and buy an extra World. What's that? Your ma says that makes four cents today; well we ain't the family to grudge money when it comes to reading how Will Sampson thumped them Spaniards. . .(World Sunday Magazine, 1898, May 22, p. 1) .

Sourcing

Berg and Berg (1968, p. 656) say that the naiveté of the yellow journals' readers permitted correspondents to source stories with categorical claims and ungrounded speculation. While this is true of many stories, it misses several critical points:

1. The World and Journal invested considerable effort in acquiring and positioning experienced correspondents who could serve as reliable eyewitnesses.

2. In many cases, questionable sourcing used then wasn't much different than the "reliable but anonymous" sourcing sometimes used by modern broadcast and print journalists.

During the May-to-July period, the World did a better job of sourcing or qualifying the sourcing for its stories than did the Journal. Once away from the breaking news of the shooting war, World correspondents often produced meaningful, public service stories. A full inside page of the June 26, 1898, issue was devoted to an investigation of how the government's emergency war appropriations were being spent. The World found government records incomplete and chaotic, but it managed to pinpoint how $98 million had been disbursed. A day later, P. 1 of the World carried a frank interview with Miles, who also served as commanding general of the Army. He told the World's readers that the Army's mobilization and logistics problems had been extensive and that, while the government was not equipped for a sudden war, it did have a surplus of experienced officer who should be able to manage the logistics crisis.

On more sensitive topics, sourcing could equivocate along the same lines used by today's national press corps. One of the most difficult secrets for the War Department to keep during May and early June was whether the army being accumulated in Tampa, Florida, by Major General William R. Shafter would be used to invade Cuba or Puerto Rico. Censors were unable to dampen the press speculation. For instance, William Shaw Bowen, reporting for the World from Washington, D.C., on June 8, 1898, wrote that "Doubts have been raised as to whether Gen. Shafter would not proceed to Porto Rico and pass by Santiago. I have obtained from the best sources in the War Department that the expedition goes to Santiago" (p. 3). A few days later, another World correspondent skillfully tap-danced around the source issue in a story critical of a federal war management committee, the Board of Strategy: "Congressmen in such a matter hesitate to be quoted. Naval folk are still more jealous of their names. . .Still, of the several score consulted," the recommendation was that the board be disbanded (1898, June 11, p. 2).

While the World excelled at the art of finding the credible source, the Journal excelled at promoting its correspondents as sources. In a June 4, 1898, editorial, the Journal explained its formula for "successful war correspondence: BRAINS. COURAGE. MONEY." (p. 6). Hearst presumably would supply the money while the editorial listed 19 correspondents and illustrators who would supply the brains and courage. Some, like Frederic Remington, undoubtedly were hired partly for their political connections and partly for their marquee value. Remington, for instance, had accompanied General Miles during the Wounded Knee Campaign and later illustrated the general's autobiography (Wooster, 1993, p. 176 & 203). Others, like John Barrett, former U.S. minister to Siam, had the prestige to represent Hearst. Barrett, who served as the Journal's "commissioner" in Manila, finally managed the newspaper's first face-to-face interview with Admiral Dewey a month and a half after the Manila Bay fight (Journal, 1898, June 18, p. 1).

Finally, the exploits of correspondents often supplied both dailies with stories similar to those that the "New Journalism" of the 1970s would produce in the hands of Norman Mailer, Hunter S. Thompson, Tom Wolfe, and others. Journal illustrator G. A. Coffin, who accompanied a landing by Marines at Guantanamo, received P. 1 attention for discovering a file of abandoned Spanish military cablegrams. Correspondent James Creelman received similar treatment after he was wounded during the battle of El Caney. World correspondent Charles H. Thrall's pre-invasion missions to spy on Spanish troop movements and fortifications supplied that publication with comparable material.

Threats To Quality

Although official censors controlled the flow of stories through Key West, Tampa, and New York City, the effectiveness and application of censorship by Army and Navy units in the field varied from time to time. Occasionally, these military censors created huge backlogs of material that eventually were transmitted and printed *en masse*. The result, as in the case of both the Journal and the World's coverage of the battles of San Juan and El Caney, make measurement difficult for timeliness or completeness. At both newspapers, the coverage barely was edited into a coherent form for the daily reader.

An equally important concern is the difficulty of determining the lineage of particular stories. New York-based editors sometimes looted a piece from the early edition of a competitor's sheet, did a thin rewrite, and presented the results as the work of their own correspondents.

Finally, it seems unlikely that a complete set of all editions including the multiple extras published on some days still exists for comparison.

Pilfering the News.

Journal editors frequently claimed that competing New York dailies rifled their news columns, but the Hearst publication undoubtedly engaged in the same behavior. On one occasion, the Journal did catch World editors in the act, but the trap used detracted from the Journal's own credibility.

In the June 8, 1898, Evening Journal, editors inserted a bogus item about a European artillery expert, Colonel Reflipe W. Thenuz, who had been mortally wounded near Aguadores, Cuba. The World reproduced the item. In a June 10, 1898, editorial, the Journal revealed the colonel's name actually was a cipher for "We Pilfer the News" and claimed that: "Mr. Pulitzer, however, has done his best to make our costly service his own by the equally inexpensive and conscienceless method of steadily stealing the Journal's news" (p. 6). The public taunting continued for several days, with Journal editorial writers taking a short break on June 14 to castigate the New York Herald for manufacturing a story about events in the Philippines. The decline in the Herald's standards, the Journal offered, dated from its recent affiliation with the World for joint coverage of events in Cuba (1989, June 14, p. 6).

The World, which had earlier accused the "Yellow Kid" Journal of stealing its beat on Dewey's Manila Bay victory, could only counter with a Port Tampa dateline that reported military guards had been placed on a Journal dispatch boat. Officials believed that Journal reporters had concealed government plans and documents on board and intended to sail for some port where they could transmit the matter without interference from censors (World, 1898, June 8, p. 2).

Censorship.

Brown (1965, p. 587) suggests that press censorship during the war was more extensive and effective than generally thought, but Washington, D.C., telegraph operations weren't censored and were the source of many leaks. Millis (1931, p. 230) adds that the Navy, which could isolate correspondents on ships far from sensitive operations, mounted a more effective censorship program than the Army. Consequently, naval commanders were better able to hide their mistakes and benefited from higher public opinion throughout the war.

An understanding of censorship and the War of 1898 hinges as much on the editorial policies of the newspapers competing for the stories and the personalities of the censors as on anything else.

Editorialists for both the World and Journal courted and scolded censors, which they found to be powerful, inequitable and not necessarily competent. Indeed, the censors sometimes brought the publishers to book for their criticism. World editorialists, who blamed McKinley for the "stray and straggle" (1898, June 3, p. 6) tempo of the war and who often expressed a preference for a naval solution to the conflict, found they had to make amends. In a June 14, 1898, editorial, the paper noted that:

> Some of the censors of this newspaper, friendly and otherwise, seem to believe that our criticism of the Administration's method of carrying on the war is a criticism of the military and naval leaders who are entrusted with the command of operations. This is a mistake. There is not the slightest evidence that the military and naval commanders approve of the policy of kind-hearted war which they are compelled to follow (p. 6).

The Journal was less forgiving of General A. W. Greely, the Army's chief signal officer and chief censor, over coverage of the embarkation of the Cuban invasion fleet. Greely embargoed publication of domestic stories about the fleet's sailing, but the same embargo didn't apply to correspondents from foreign newspapers. The London Chronicle received the story from one of its stringers and cabled it back to U.S. newspapers participating in the Chronicle's news service. Greely tried to conceal his mistake by issuing a retroactive order covering foreign publications.

The Journal lashed Greely: ". . .we believe the censor should bring intelligence and good faith to his work. General Greely has shown himself destitute of both and should be relieved of a post for which he is unfit" (1898, June 10, p. 6). Two days later, the opportunistic World published a favorable interview with the general about one of his pet projects, reconnaissance balloons.

Shafter's Press Relations .

The Army's press relations during the war inevitably were bound to cycles in the popularity of William R. Shafter, the 63-year-old, 305-pound major general charged with mobilizing and leading the invasion army. Millis (1931, p. 264-265) speculates that Shafter's stock with the press began to slip after he and Richard Harding Davis quarreled over the priority assigned war correspondents for disembarking from the troop ships.

However, relationships between Shafter and the press had been strained since May 1898 when the Fifth Army Corps began concentrating in the Tampa area. Shafter's position gave him authority over the censor's office in Tampa, which he administered through his aide, First Lieutenant John D. Miley.

The old general understood and easily managed the politics of military life. For instance, both Adjutant General H. C. Corbin and Secretary of War R. A. Long had sons serving as officers with the invasion army; Shafter dutifully kept an eye on both.

But, he did not mix easily with all war correspondents and tried to restrain those officers who did, as illustrated by a May 23, 1898, letter Miley wrote to Rev. Dwight Galloupe, chaplain of the 9th Infantry:

> . . .the General's remark to you was not prompted by the fact that you were seen at different times in conversation with war correspondents, but to the fact that you were seen in company with certain war correspondents. There are war correspondents and war correspondents. (The William R. Shafter Papers [WRSP], 1975, p. 350).

Shafter began tightening the censorship noose in mid-May. Acting for the general, Miley issued directives on May 17th to the manager of the Western Union Telegraph Co. office in Tampa forbidding him from transmitting any message "giving information of the fitting out of a Cuban expedition at this place. . ." (WRSP, p. 198). Any journalist trying to send such a story would forfeit his press accreditation to the invasion army, Miley wrote. Four days later, Miley issued nine rules for operation of the censor's office including setting the hours of operation between 9 a.m. and 9 p.m. (WRSP, p. 270).

Shafter was eager to enforce censorship rules, but the political authorities wavered. The first test came on May 28, 1898, when Shafter ordered Monte Cutler of the New York Press, W. J. Taylor and W. L. Bloomer of the Scripps McRae League, F. W. Kettle of the Jacksonville Times-Union, and J. M. Maxwell of the Chicago Tribune barred from the telegraph lines. On the same day, Miley wrote the editors of the Tampa Tribune and Tampa Daily Herald, warning them not to publish further articles about preparations for a Cuban expedition. Within the same day, Corbin had cabled from Washington, D.C.,: "Secretary War does not think it wise to discriminate in favor or against any particular newspapers as such" (WRSP, p. 511). Alger wanted a detailed report before Shafter barred the news organizations, and the general provided one that concluded: "If correspondents can send forbidden matter by mail and escape consequences, the censorship might as well be abandoned here" (WRSP, p. 520). The point was obvious: A politically well connected publisher might escape the censors on some stories.

The Story Specific Analysis

The war produced many breaking stories; two were selected for analysis because they began about the same time and at the same location. Both offered the Journal and World an opportunity to maximize their war coverage with little additional investment of manpower. They also provide an opportunity to assess the publications' performance on stories where a competitor could easily expose dishonest or manufactured coverage.

One story involves allegations of Spanish atrocities that official sources later found to be untrue. It provides a clear example of how the World and Journal's intense competition could fuel sensational reporting. Before the Fifth Army Corps invaded Cuba, a detachment of Marines landed on June 10, 1898, to secure a beachhead in the Guantanamo Bay area. Before the general invasion force arrived on June 20, the Marines repulsed several attacks by the Spanish. Two U.S. servicemen were killed, and their bodies reportedly were mutilated.

The other incident involves one of the war's genuine heroes, Navy Lieutenant Richmond Hobson. Late in May, Spanish Admiral Pascual Cervera managed to slip a squadron of warships into Santiago Harbor. U.S. Navy tactician wanted to ensure the fleet could not escape, and Hobson provided them with a solution. Before dawn on June 3, Hobson and seven volunteers scuttled a collier, the Merrimac, in the harbor channel. The vessel failed to plug the channel, and Hobson and his crew were taken prisoner. The Merrimac eight became instant heroes, a status they enjoyed well after their release on July 7.

The atrocity story

The Journal and World ran the atrocity story on P. 1 of their Monday, June 13, 1898, editions. The headline on the copyrighted but un-bylined World story did not mention "atrocities," but a lower paragraph mentioned that the casualties "were stripped of shoes, hats and cartridges and horribly mutilated" (p. 1). The Journal used an Associated Press dispatch with a banner headline proclaiming: "13 Hours Of Bloody Fighting/Hand To Hand Midnight Battle/Marines and Officers Killed/Bodies Frightfully Mutilated" (1898, June 13, p. 1). The AP story added that the mutilations were done with machete blows.

Both newspapers' accounts of the mutilations would escalate over the next two days. A P. 2 follow in the World on Tuesday offered that the Marines' bodies had been riddled with bullets and that the mutilations were especially barbaric. In the same day's Journal, correspondent Langdon Smith would modestly offer that he had not actually seen the mutilated bodies, but that the enemy had apparently taken "savage delight" in the act. By Wednesday, June 15, World editors were willing to devote three P. 1 stories to the atrocities. In one, Secretary of War Alger and other government officials called for swift retribution; in a second, written by F. H. Nichols, Marines were portrayed as eager to dish out that retribution. At the Journal, the atrocity story was ripe for plucking by both editorialists and reporters. The unidentified correspondent filing the main news story offered that: "These guerillas (sic) are no better than Apaches or Modocs. There is no longer any question of the mutilation of the dead. I have seen the bodies. . ." (1898, June 15, p. 2). A P. 6 editorial reasoned that the atrocities weren't improbable given the Spanish army of occupation's record in Cuba.

The Journal and the World kept the atrocity story alive for their Sunday, June 19, editions, but by then the Journal was looking for a graceful exit. In a P. 34 feature about Spanish rifle ammunition, the Journal quoted surgeons who believed it possible "that the ghastly mutilations were caused only by the bullets from the Mauser rifles used by the Spanish. . ." The World provided its readers with a page full of condemnations from European military officers. The coverage also included interviews with Spanish generals in Madrid who denied their troops would mutilate the dead. Only the World printed the results on June 23 of Surgeon-General Van Raypen's inquest: "Bodies of Marines Not Mutilated/By Spaniards At Guantanamo" said the headline over the small P. 2 story.

Hobson and the Merrimac

Both newspapers were able to supply fairly complete accounts of the Merrimac adventure in their Saturday, June 4, morning editions. Both made shrewd, but incorrect guesses about the ship's mission.

The unsourced World story assumed that the ship had been on a suicide mission to clear the channel of mines and that most of the crew had perished. The Journal story offered a second scenario: the Merrimac had been used as bait in a failed attempt to lure the Spanish fleet out of the harbor. The Journal's Saturday coverage also was distinguished by one of that publication's rare attempts to qualify the reliability of a source. The disclaimer explained that the story came from a source within Santiago that had proved trustworthy in the past.

The initial confusion over the Merrimac's mission may have been justified. Although the Navy and Hobson stuck with the story that the collier was to block the channel, Spanish naval officers who inspected the wreck found it bunkered with 2,000 tons of coal and equipped with guns (1899, Tejeiro, pp. 51-55).

The Sunday, June 5, coverage expanded the definition of sensationalism. The Journal's huge P. 1 banner and multiple decks said: "Lieutenant Hobson and Seven/Men Boldly Defy the Whole/Spanish Fleet. In a Hail of Shot and Shell They/Dash into Santiago Bay/With the Merrimac." The World claimed that: "Lieut. Hobson Wins Undying Fame By/Sinking The Merrimac At Santiago."

The World also moved quickly to be the first to contact Hobson's parents in Greensboro, Ala., with news of their son's feat and, of course, to get their reaction for the next day's edition.

Conclusion

An assessment of the quality of the yellow journals' war coverage is difficult not only for the reasons cited above, but also because present day values invariably seep into the analysis. Brown, for instance, blames competition between the World and Journal for readers' and the war correspondents' preoccupation with daring exploits rather than "sound reporting" (1965, pp. 589-590). But, his analysis overlooks publishers' attempts to police acts of "official sensationalism" and to provide balanced reporting. Examples of both can be drawn from the World, which used a July 2, 1898, editorial to caution a government censor:

> "Yesterday the Government signal officer near Santiago sent a lurid despatch (sic) saying: Fight is growing furious at Santiago. Eight Americans and nine Cubans wounded. What needless rubbish this is to come from an official source! Seventeen men wounded and one killed. That is the story of a picket fight. . ." (p. 6).

Meanwhile, correspondents Sylvester Scovel and George Bronson Rea supplied reports from the battle front that were models of clarity and restraint.

A better critique is Francke's argument that the roots of press sensationalism are to be found in the Western cultural tradition that values for pedagogic purposes some aspects of human experience over others . Even though the yellow journals used sensation to attract, readers were expected to progress upward "--if not from Bennett's Herald to Godkin's Post, at least from the sensory feast of Pulitzer's front page to the intellectual diet of his editorial page" (Francke, 1978, p. 72).

In his autobiography, On the Great Highway, which is really yellow journalism's manifesto, Journal correspondent James Creelman explored the contemporaneous values that should be applied when evaluating the New York dailies of the 1890s. Yellow newspapers, Creelman explained, seek to take "part in events as an active and sometimes decisive agent" when the progress of mankind is at stake (1901, p. 174). Spain's occupation of Cuba, which represented "the incarnation of the surviving spirit of medieval Europe, desperately struggling to retain a foothold in the western world" (p. 159), qualified as such a threat. Sensationalism and occasional inaccuracies, he argued, were a small and acceptable price to pay to preserve that progress.

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THE EARLY BLACK PRESS IN WICHITA, KANSAS:
A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

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Abstract

THE EARLY BLACK PRESS IN WICHITA, KANSAS:
A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

This research profiles three black newspapers that were published concurrently in Wichita, Kansas, in 1894. As the first in-depth study of the early black press in Wichita, this historical analysis examines the political and social context of the era and identifies information about the city's black community in the mid-1890s. Black Wichitans, who were business owners, public servants, and active church members, developed a thriving community and worked to promote social and political change.

THE EARLY BLACK PRESS IN WICHITA, KANSAS: A HISTORICAL ANALYSIS

Introduction

In August 1894, Sam W. Jones introduced the National Baptist World to the overlooked readership of black citizens in Wichita, Kansas. In the newspaper's third issue, Editor Jones wrote, "None who have an interest in the elevation and future development of the race can easily deny the necessity of colored newspapers. The papers published by the whites take but little notice of the praise-worthy accomplishments of our people" (National Baptist World, Sept. 21, 1894, p. 4). That same year, two of Jones' contemporaries--William Bettis, editor of The Kansas Headlight, and William Jeltz, editor of The People's Friend, targeted newspapers to Wichita's black community (see Footnote 1). Available on microfilm, these newspapers are among the earliest extant copies of black newspapers that were published in Wichita (Campbell, 1981; Gaston, 1992). These papers provide evidence of a thriving community within a larger community.

In spite of this evidence of Wichita's black community in the 1890s, knowledge about that community during those early days is limited. While some data can be gleaned from historical accounts of Wichita, the information about its black citizens lacks breadth and depth (Miner, 1982; Miner, 1988; Van Meter, 1977). The First National Black Historical Society of Kansas, located in the old Calvary Baptist Church on Water Street in Wichita, houses a small collection of artifacts and books. A search for written accounts from the 1890s about the black community uncovered nothing. The earliest written information about Wichita's black community is dated in the 1920s, more than 25 years after Jones, Bettis, and Jeltz published their newspapers.

Since newspapers function as a vital communication medium for any community, these publications provide windows that allow us to peer into the past. Examinations of numerous newspapers published in early Wichita, such as The Wichita Eagle and the Wichita Beacon, have helped to establish the city's historical chronology; yet, little attention has been given to Wichita's early black newspapers and their readers (Miner, 1982; Miner, 1988; Van Meter, 1977).

Purpose of the Study

The early black press of Wichita, a communication log for the city's black community, is a rich yet neglected area of inquiry. This research project is intended to rectify the deficiency. As the first in-depth examination of the black press of Wichita during the 1890s, this research historically analyzes three black newspapers that were published concurrently in Wichita in 1894. From data gathered from primary and secondary sources, this research seeks to answer the following questions: (a) What was the political and social context of the era when these black newspapers were publishing, (b) how do early black newspapers in Wichita compare to other late-19th century black papers in Kansas, and (c) what do Wichita's early black newspapers reveal about the city's black community in the mid-1890s? In summary, the following research addresses the historical context of early Wichita's black community through the profile of three black newspapers published in the mid-1890s.

Literature Review

This literature review incorporates past research that provides a backdrop and identifies reference points for the study of the early black press of Wichita. The following section will highlight studies that focus on the early black press. Works that deal with the purpose and function of early black newspapers also will be reviewed.

One of the first historians of the black press, I. Garland Penn (1891), compiled information about the earliest black newspapers and their prominent editors. He listed papers such as Freedom's Journal and Rights for All, 1827-30, in New York; The Weekly Advocate and Colored American, 1837, also in New York; and People's Press and The Mystery, 1843-47, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. He made no mention, however, of early Kansas newspapers, except for a short essay on Kansan John L. Waller, who edited The American Citizen in Topeka in 1886. Other researchers who have contributed to the overview of early black newspapers are Pride (1951; 1956), Thornbrough (1966), Dann (1971), Painter (1971), O'Kelly (1982), Williams (1985-1986), Wolseley, (1990), Dates and Barlow (1990), and Potter (1993). Some scholars investigate early newspapers from particular regions, including Suggs (1983), who researched the black press in the South, and Berardi and Segady (1990), who examined the development of black newspapers in the American West. Other researchers narrow their study to early black newspapers in particular states, such as Alabama (Jones, 1984), Kansas (Moten, 1938), Mississippi (Thompson, 1993), Missouri (Slavens, 1969), and Texas (Grose, 1972). Still other scholars research specific newspapers (Barrows, 1977-1978; Nordin, 1977-1978; Klassen & Johnson, 1986;

Cooper, 1986; and Stevens & Johnson, 1990).

Wolseley (1990) defines a black newspaper as one that is owned and managed by blacks, targeted for black readership, and serves as a voice for blacks. The earliest black papers crusaded for freedom from slavery and fair treatment of black Americans (Wolseley, 1990). Over time, the purposes of the black press became more complex. Later newspapers existed to report news that concerned and affected the black population, provided a forum for opinions on racially-oriented topics, conveyed the social news of the black community, and advocated for black Americans (Wolseley, 1990).

Lauren Kessler (1984) classifies black newspapers, along with the feminist press, immigrant, and socialist publications, as part of the American dissident press. According to Kessler (1984), the dissident press promotes a cause overlooked by the culture, politics, or lifestyle of the dominant American press. As a dissident press, black newspapers address the insensitive treatment of blacks by general-circulation newspapers.

Black newspapers, historically, have functioned as an arena for political debate and fostered the formation of black identity and community (Stevens & Johnson, 1990). In addition, late-19th century black newspapers helped to develop a sociocultural identity and a political consciousness for their readership (Krieling, 1977-1978). According to O'Kelly (1982), late-19th century black newspapers sought to elevate the black race and advocated economic and educational opportunities for the black race. Black newspapers have defined and communicated the ideas of blacks to the public in an effort to promote social or political change (Kessler, 1984; Strother, 1978). In addition, the black press reported the accomplishments of black people, which engendered racial pride for a people who, because of skin color, were viewed by the dominant culture as second-class citizens. Thus, the black press has functioned to inform, unify, and persuade black people to seek social change. These functions apply to all black newspapers, whether Freedom's Journal, the first documented black newspaper, or The Chicago Defender, a widely circulated black newspaper which is published today (Kessler, 1984).

Historical Analysis

This historical analysis of The People's Friend, the National Baptist World, and The Kansas Headlight, three black newspapers published for 27 weeks in Wichita in 1894, will include: (a) highlights of the national and local political climate of the late-19th century; (b) a review of the political role that Kansas blacks played in that period; (c) a brief history of the city's black community that spawned the black newspapers; (d) general characteristics of black newspapers which were typical of early black newspapers in Kansas and Wichita; and (e) profiles of the three newspapers.

Political Climate

The national political climate at the end of the 19th century was entangled in the growing movement of a strong third party. This grass-roots effort, christened as the People's or Populist Party, began as a "political and economic protest that rose out of the Farmers' Alliance in about 1890....[Populism] reached a high point nationally in the Bryan-McKinley campaign of 1896, and then went rapidly downhill" (Nugent, 1963, p. 4). The popularity of Populism was greatest among agrarian and working-class Americans. Across America, crop prices dropped fell during this period and a wave of immigrants flooded the country, creating a pool of cheap labor that Populists believed affected employment opportunities for the working class. In particular, farmers felt trapped by the high rate of interest on land mortgages, few money sources for the mortgages, and high costs of transporting their needed goods and harvested crops (Nugent, 1963). Populist campaign platforms called for reforms in land, transportation, and money policies (Miller, 1993).

Allocation of public land for settlers, banking reform, free silver, and government ownership of transportation systems became primary issues for Kansas Populists in the 1890s. The 1870s and 1880s had brought economic expansion in Kansas as grain prices increased and the railroad lines expanded across the state. Optimism reigned and farmers invested heavily in land as real estate values increased (Clanton, 1969). When the boom collapsed in 1887-1888, Populism became a ready response to "the technological achievements that had revolutionalized agriculture and industry over the course of the nineteenth century" (Clanton, 1969, p. 32). It was a revolt against the increasing domination of financial and industrial powers (Rochester, 1943). For example, the Populists challenged the monopoly of the Santa Fe Railroad Company in Kansas. In effect, the Populists sought government control. They applied the same principle to the ownership of telephones and telegraphs (Miller, 1993).

Kansas became the national epicenter of Populism. Colorful Kansas Populists gained national prominence, including Senator William Alfred Peffer, Congressman Jeremiah "Jerry Sockless" Simpson, and orators Mary Elizabeth Lease and Annie LaPorte Diggs (Clanton, 1969). In 1892, the number of Populist Kansas voters outnumbered Democrats two to one and nearly equaled the number of Republicans (Nugent, 1963). Republican leaders were shaken by the political victories of Populist candidates in the 1892 elections (Clanton, 1969). That year a Populist candidate, Sedgwick County resident Lorenzo D. Lewelling, was elected governor of Kansas. During the 1894 state elections, Kansas Republicans hotly attacked the Populist Party (Nugent, 1963). Republican-affiliated newspapers identified the Populist leaders as "'anarchists,' 'communists,' 'misfits,' 'loafers,' 'cranks,' and 'demagogues'" (Clanton, 1969, p. 63). By the end of 1894, the Lewelling administration and the Populist movement lost political ground in Kansas largely because of worsening economic conditions across the country. Also, the party was accused of dodging the issues of women's suffrage and prohibition while promoting nativism, i.e., antagonism demonstrated toward non-American groups (Nugent, 1963).

During the 1890s, the rise of Populism also affected the political climate of Wichita. Prominent Kansas Populists Mary Elizabeth Lease and Jerry "Sockless" Simpson both maintained Wichita residency for some time during this era (Nugent, 1963). Governor Lorenzo Lewelling, the Populist candidate elected in 1892, owned a butter-and-egg business in Wichita (The Kansas Star, June 4, 1894, p. 1). Even though the city was typically conservative and Republican, some of its leaders flirted with Populism, including The Wichita Eagle editor, Marshall Murdock, who was a prominent, wealthy political leader (Miner, 1988).

In general during the 1890s, Wichitans focused on several political issues. The economy was hit by a recession that followed an economic boom in the 1880s (Miner, 1988). Real estate prices dropped, affecting both private businesses and city government. The construction of city-owned buildings, that began in the 1880s, slowed. This resulted in less demand for construction laborers. City leaders were concerned about freight rates, since rising transportation costs affected Wichita's competition with other cities along the railroad (Miner, 1988). Concern about trade, jobs, and transportation was central to the Populist political agenda.

Political Affiliations of Kansas Blacks

Most Kansas blacks aligned themselves with the Republican Party because they perceived Lincoln's party as the vehicle to bring about their assimilation into American society (Fishel, 1955; Painter, 1971). Some blacks, however, became disillusioned with the Republican Party during the 1890s. A residue of bad feelings remained among some black Republicans because in 1886 the Party had refused to renominate Edward P. McCabe, a black Republican, as state auditor of Kansas (Fishel, 1955). The G.O.P.'s pledges of racial equality and active participation by blacks in the political process were perceived as empty rhetoric by many blacks; yet, the Democratic Party offered no viable alternative (Painter, 1971). As a result, black leaders began to emphasize racial concerns as predominant local and national issues. Thus, racial solidarity began to displace Republicanism as the political common denominator among blacks (Fishel, 1955).

Kansas was one of the first states where Populist leaders tried to appeal to black voters who perceived a lack of concern by Republican leaders for their interests and problems (Abramowitz, 1953). In 1890, Kansas

Populists made a concerted effort to attract the black voters who were disillusioned by the Republican Party and integrate them into the People's Party. In an attempt to win these black voters, the Populists named the Reverend Benjamin F. Foster, a black minister from Topeka, as their candidate for state auditor.

In his case study of blacks and Populism in Kansas, William H. Chafe (1968) contended that the Populist Party was not a viable alternative for blacks. Black people were attracted to the Populist Party for different reasons than the white farmers and laborers (Chafee, 1968). While whites were concerned about economics, blacks were concerned primarily about prejudice and equality. For example, blacks viewed labor strikes as employment opportunities for the jobs that were vacated by white strikers:

> If other railroads would follow the example set by the Ft. Wayne and Lakeshore road in employing colored men to fill the place of strikers, we predict that they will not be put to the inconvenience of having traffic on their lines interfered with because of someone or some organization has some imaginay [sic] grieviance [sic] to settle....The Negro is a man in whom his employer can put the utmost confidence (The People's Friend, July 27, 1894, p. 1).

As a result of differing agendas, an ideological split separated the white and black Populists.

Black Americans in Early Wichita

Wichita began as a tiny trading town on the Kansas prairie in the 1860s and blacks were present from the beginning. A black scout, known only as Buckner, accompanied James Mead, one of the founding fathers of Wichita, on a hunting expedition to the fork of the Big and Little Arkansas rivers where the city was eventually founded (Miner, 1982). In addition, some families of black men, who were members of the cattle drive crews that moved herds between Kansas and Texas in the 1870s, settled in Wichita. By 1874, one black businessman had opened a blacksmith shop in the city (Miner, 1982).

While records indicate attempts were made to integrate blacks into Wichita society in the late 1870s, the migration of Southern blacks to Kansas in 1879 raised objections among some Wichitans about the number of blacks settling in the city. Even though race relations were better in Wichita than farther south, prejudicial feelings became overt when a group of healthy black migrants was quarantined by the city as a "precaution" against spreading disease (Athearn, 1978, p. 65). For the most part, blacks were mentioned in the Wichita Beacon and The Wichita Eagle, two of the city's mainstream dailies, only when they were involved in crime (Miner, 1982). Because names of accused minorities were rarely recorded, one can conclude those individuals were viewed by the general press as insignificant. William Jeltz, editor of one local black newspaper, lamented the lack of respect accorded the people of his race by the general press: "There is not a daily in the city that does not every few days speak of the colored people dispairingly [sic], and a colored paper is the only organ that will publish a pointed reply" (The People's Friend, June 14, 1894, p. 4).

By the 1890s, black and white Wichitans lived in segregated residential areas. An 1895 census listed the black population of Wichita at 1,307, which was six percent of the total population (Miner, 1988). The geographic boundaries of Wichita's black community were clearly drawn and were "concentrated along Main and Water Streets, north of Central, in the area surrounding and west of the County Courthouse" (Miner, 1988, p. 97). Cut off from the larger society, a thriving black-owned business district developed that catered to black customers (Miner, 1988). Customers patronized such business establishments as ice cream parlors, grocery stores, a drug store, a jewelry shop, barber shop, and print shops (The People's Friend, May 24-Sept. 28, 1894).

In addition to business ownership, black citizens used education, public service, and religion as avenues to develop their community. Wichita's black leaders encouraged citizens to participate in these institutions and activities that they believed would establish both individual and racial pride. On one occasion, a large crowd gathered at a black church to listen to local leaders discuss the role of education, religion, money, and hard work as solutions to what was referred to as the "race problem" (The People's Friend, June 22, p. 1).

In the 1890s, Wichita's black children attended integrated schools. Wichita was the only major city in Kansas that prohibited segregated schools in 1894 (Van Meter, 1977). Black students accounted for four percent of the public school enrollment throughout the 1890s, but no black teachers were employed (Van Meter, 1977). Although the schools taught both black and white students, the two groups often were not seated together. Segregation became more of an issue as the black population increased (Van Meter, 1977). In 1893, black citizens met to discuss segregated schools. One spokesman, a barber named O. L. Boyd, wanted black children to have black teachers, but he was denounced by other black community leaders (Van Meter, 1977). Wichita schools remained integrated until 1906.

The black community saw education as a primary way for blacks to advance and assimilate into mainstream society. The black press praised students for their educational achievements: "There will be a good many young people that will go to the High School next year. Hurrah for them" (*The People's Friend*, May 24, p. 4). Yet, in spite of obtaining an education, these students still encounted employment barriers. In a letter to the editor, an unidentified reader expressed frustration about the lack of employment opportunities for young black men who were educated:

> "What will our young men do?", is a question that should receive attention. We have young men in our city who have education but no opportunity to develop or demonstrate it, and the masses of the people blame the young men and because they will not get down and shovel manure, they charge them with laziness and other vices instead of encouraging them and assisting them in getting some kind of employment where they may be beneficial to themselves and their race. (*The People's Friend*, May 24, p. 1)

Participation in city and state politics was an important aspect of black community life in Wichita. Some in the mainstream press acknowledged the strong Republican alliance among black leaders. One white newspaper columnist, Wilbur Mackey, challenged white voters to "learn a lesson of fidelity from the colored Republicans" (1894, p. 1). Some black Wichitans, though, expressed dissatisfaction with the political system. White political candidates sought support from black voters, but racial concerns and interests were not a motivation:

> White politicians as a rule select from our ranks the most ignorant men of our race as "leaders" in politics. Men who as a rule [*sic*] agree to everything the white official says, and differ from him in nothing. (*The People's Friend*, June 22, p. 1)

Black citizens took pride in their public service role of maintaining community safety. Workers at the black-run fire station received frequent accolades from the local black press. Following a major fire, one newspaper was quick to compliment two fire fighters for their efforts: "The colored fire boys Shults and Thurman received many words of praise for their faithful work at the big fire. That is right boys, prove yourselves worthy" (The People's Friend, June 22, p. 4).

Religion and music were integral to the social life of Wichita's black citizens. At least seven black congregations were located in the city: New Hope Baptist Church, Second Baptist Church, Friendship Baptist Church, Tabernacle Baptist Church, St. Paul Methodist Episcopal Church, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church (The People's Friend, May 31, 1894, p. 4). Professor N. C. Smith, a talented musician, directed the Music Hall where the people gathered for vocal and instrumental concerts. The community was proud of Smith's Kids' Band, which was composed of 21 young boys who performed at various musical functions, including the state fair in Wichita (The People's Friend, June 22, 1894, p. 1; Aug. 10, 1894, p. 4).

Black Newspapers

In the late 1800s, black newspapers in Wichita exemplified the black press nationwide. The black press played a dual role of providing a forum for political communication among black leaders and promoting the development of black identity and community (Stevens & Johnson, 1990). The publication of black newspapers became prolific nationwide from the 1880s to the early 1900s, though the survival rate for many was short-lived (Pride, 1951). By the 1890s, more than 575 black newspapers existed nationwide, though an accurate count is difficult to confirm (Pride, 1951; Potter, 1993). Potter (1993), who compiled an inventory of black newspapers published between 1827-1946 nationwide, conceded that her listing was incomplete. Indeed, the three black newspapers in Wichita analyzed in this study were omitted from her list.

Wichita's early black newspapers were part of the "baby boom" experienced by the black press of Kansas between 1880-1915. Records indicate that more than 50 black newspapers were published in Kansas during those years, although more than 30 of them existed only two years or less (Moten, 1938; Campbell, 1981). Several factors contributed to the growth of black newspapers in Kansas. One catalyst was the migration of some 6,000 Southern blacks within the state's boundaries during the "Great Exodus of 1879," when blacks from Louisiana, Mississippi, and Texas emigrated to the Kansas plains hoping to become landowners (Painter, 1977; Williams, 1985-1986). Pride (1951) cited four other factors that help explain the establishment of Kansas' early black press: (a) the emphasis on public and private education which increased the literacy rate for black Americans; (b) employment that enabled people to purchase five-cent newspapers, a price that was unfeasible in the past; (c) numerous religious organizations and welfare agencies that underwrote black publications; and (d) subsidization of black newspapers by political parties as an attempt to win the black voter.

The first systematic study of early black newspapers in Kansas was done in 1938 by Rashey B. Moten Jr. in his master's thesis at the University of Kansas. He collected and summarized the available information of the black press from 1876 to 1938. The Colored Radical, founded in 1876 in

Leavenworth, was the earliest known black newspaper in Kansas. Prior to 1900, newspapers also were published in Atchison, Baxter Springs, Coffeyville, Fort Scott, Independence, Lawrence, Kansas City, Nicodemus, Parsons, Pittsburgh, Topeka, and Wichita (Moten, 1938; Campbell, 1981). Though Moten (1938) examined several newspapers in depth, none of those were published in Wichita.

Black newspapers in Kansas conformed to common characteristics of other black newspapers across the nation (Moten, 1938; Thornbrough, 1966). Black newspapers resembled small-town white weeklies in circulation, size, and subscription rates. More stable black papers were published in large cities. In Kansas, the longest surviving black papers were published in Topeka, the state capital. Most newspapers targeted a local readership. Subscriptions were sold through agents; more successful papers sought statewide or national distribution (Moten, 1938).

Three sources typified the black editor's choice for news copy in early black newspapers: local news gathered by the editor or his staff, voluntary contributions from area correspondents, and items reprinted from white dailies and weeklies and other black newspapers, i.e., called "plate matter" or "ready print" (Moten, 1938). Virtually no early black newspapers had press association or telegraph service, and the inexpensive and readily obtained plate matter often made up 50 percent of the papers' editorial copy (Moten, 1938). Plate matter also helped keep down publishing costs (Krieling, 1977-1978).

Black newspapers in Kansas, like most black newspapers, usually were affiliated with the Republican Party (Moten, 1938; Fishel, 1955;

Thornbrough, 1966; Painter, 1977). During this period, a black paper aligned with the Democratic Party was rare since most blacks viewed the Democratic Party of the South as anti-black (Thornbrough, 1966; Painter, 1977). The political alignment of Kansas' black newspapers generally took one of two forms -- either an unqualified endorsement of the Republican Party or a qualified stance that was dependent on the party's support of racial concerns (Moten, 1938). Moten (1938) cited particular political affiliations for only some of the newspapers listed in his survey of early black newspapers in Kansas; yet, one cannot assume that the lack of political identification indicated independent newspapers. Moten (1938) made no mention of the affiliations of The People's Friend or The Kansas Headlight, two Wichita newspapers. The People's Friend was Republican, while the other, The Kansas Headlight, was Populist.

At least six black newspapers were published in Wichita during the 1890s: The Kansas Sunflower, 1890; The National Baptist World, 1894; The Kansas Headlight, 1894; The People's Friend, 1894; The National Reflector, 1895-1898; and The Wichita Tribune, 1898 (Gaston, 1992). Some of Wichita's black journalists, S. W. Jones, M. L. Copeland, W. A. Bettis, and D. L. Robinson, served as editors or associate editors for more than one of these newspapers.

Newspaper Profiles

The People's Friend, The Kansas Headlight, and the National Baptist World, provide some insight about Wichita's black press in 1894. At the time, Wichita had more than 11 other locally-based newspapers, including the Wichita Beacon and The Wichita Eagle, published daily; the Kansas Staats-

Anzeiger, a German-language weekly; The Kansas Commoner, a Populist newspaper; and The Kansas Star, a mainstream weekly (Connelley, 1916). The following discussion will highlight three black newspapers in Wichita for which extant copies exist--The People's Friend, The Kansas Headlight, and the National Baptist World. Henceforth, The People's Friend, the National Baptist World, and The Kansas Headlight will be referred to as the Friend, the Baptist World, and the Headlight.

William Jeltz published the Friend in Wichita from May 24 to Sept. 28, 1894. According to Campbell (1981), the Friend was published from 1894-1895, but this information is contradicted by a published report. S. W. Jones, editor of the Baptist World, wrote: "A few weeks ago, Wichita had three race journals; now she has but one, the BAPTIST WORLD" (Nov. 2, 1984, p. 8). Thus, the brief life of the Friend appears to have been even shorter than previously supposed; however, the paper did not vanish completely. In 1896, Jeltz revived the Friend and published it in Topeka, the state capital, until 1898 (Campbell, 1981).

The Wichita office of the Friend was located at 150 N. Main, in the heart of the black community. The newspaper was a four-page weekly that initially was distributed on Thursdays. After one month of publication, the distribution day was changed to Friday. Subscriptions were five cents for a single copy and $1.50 per year.

The Friend was affiliated with the Republican Party: "In politics we are Republicans, and shall expect from that party such support as our work merits" (The People's Friend, May 31, 1894, p. 4). Editor Jeltz, nevertheless, claimed that his newspaper was not a campaign paper:

> It is rumored that this paper is published for a campaign paper. That is not our intention; but what we aim at is to publish a first class colored newspaper here in the city in the interest of our people. (The People's Friend, May 24, 1894, p. 1)

The masthead of the May 31, 1894, issue of the Friend listed D. L. Robinson as the editor and Jeltz as publisher, but subsequent issues attributed Jeltz as sole editor and publisher. In July 1894, Jeltz's readers were notified that Robinson was no longer authorized to collect payments for subscriptions of the Friend (The People's Friend, July 6, p. 1). Evidently, Jeltz and Robinson parted ways. The Friend carried a personal message for Robinson, who left not only the paper, but the Republican Party:

> What will the Republican party [sic] do in the coming campaign without the almost indispensable (?) [see Footnote 2] services of D. L. Robinson? Go ahead, D. L., you are all right, but look out now that some other fellow don't [sic] get your place in the Republican ranks and leave you after next November's election without a place to lay your head. (The People's Friend, July 13, 1894, p. 1)

According to the Friend, Robinson aligned himself with another newspaper, the Headlight: "A new paper called the 'Headlight' will make its first appearance in the Political Arena today. It is edited by Messrs. Bettis and Robinson in the interest of the People's Party" (July 13, 1894, p. 4).

Thus, at least one black Populist newspaper, the Headlight, was published in Wichita in the 1890s, making its debut in July 1894. The four-page newspaper was published on Fridays. The office was at 522 E. Douglas Avenue. Though the newspaper existed for more than two months, only two extant copies of the newspaper remain.

As a Populist-affiliated newspaper, the Headlight provided Wichita's black community with an alternative voice to the Friend. Editor Bettis expressed forthrightly his dissatisfaction with the Republican Party:

> We have been taught for twenty-five years that no other political party was a friend to the negro but the republican party, the buffs and the kicks she has given us has taught us better....That the republican party did many good things for the colored man goes without saying, but they must not forget that twenty-five years or more of blinded allegiance to the republican party has amply liquidated any and all debts that the colored man has ever owed the G.O.P. (The Kansas Headlight, Aug. 24, 1894, p. 4)

In regard to political issues, the Headlight endorsed the agenda of the Populists, including the establishment of a federal banking system, a free silver monetary policy, and a yearly income tax that placed a bigger tax burden on the wealthy. Like Jeltz in the Friend, Bettis also used his newspaper, the Headlight, as a forum to address specific concerns of his readers such as anti-lynching legislation and equalization of employment for blacks.

The Headlight was short-lived. Other black editors in Wichita, contemporaries of Bettis and Robinson, acknowledged the Headlight's demise in their newspapers. S.W. Jones, editor of the Baptist World, wrote the following:

> Our esteemed contemporary of the Populist faith, the Kansas Headlight, has run aground and W.A. Bettis, the editor of the same is now out hunting up foot race matches for his brother Jim who is said to a be quite a sprinter. Success to you Bill. (National Baptist World, Sept. 28, 1894, p. 8)

William Jeltz, whose paper, the Friend, ceased publication in Wichita the following week, also noted the Headlight's demise. He attributed the Headlight's expiration to lack of party funding:

> The Kansas Headlight has gone to where the woodbine twineth and no more will its rasping voice be heard in the land shouting the virtues (?) of sweet old Populism. Bettis has done all he could to make the paper go, but the committee failed to come up to their contract, and the paper had to yield up the ghost. (The People's Friend, Sept. 28,

1894, p. 4)

A third paper that served the black community at that time was the Baptist World. The Baptist World consolidated two other black newspapers, the Baptist Headlight and the Afro-American Baptist which had been published in Topeka (Campbell, 1981). The office was located at 118 N. Main. Editor S. W. Jones printed the first issue on Aug. 31, 1894. According to Jones, the paper was "published every Friday at Wichita, Kansas, in the interest of the Baptist Church and the race" (The National Baptist World, Aug. 31, 1894, p. 6). Five Baptist ministers served on Jones' editorial staff. One was M. L. Copeland, of the Second Baptist Church, who later founded and edited The National Reflector in 1895. The Baptist World survived from 1894-1900 (Campbell, 1981). It was an eight-page paper, which was uncommon for black newspapers during that era since high production costs limited the length of most black papers to four pages (Thornbrough, 1966). Yearly subscriptions to the Baptist World were 50 cents and a single copy could be purchased for two cents, which was cheaper than either the Friend or the Headlight. These differences in size of paper and cost per issue can be attributed to the Baptist World's financial subsidization by the Baptist denomination.

All three editors of these black newspapers actively participated in party politics. William Jeltz, editor of the Friend, issued a call to the Republican Party to have the courage to speak out against the injustice of treating black Americans as second-class citizens (The People's Friend, June 29, 1894, p. 4). This issue was debated by another black journalist, W.A. Bettis, at a local community gathering. Bettis took the negative position on the following statement: "Resolved: 'That the political interests of the negro are best subserved [*sic*] in the Republican party'" (*The People's Friend*, June 29, 1894, p. 1). As a spokesman for the Populist Party, Bettis criticized the G.O.P. for its lack of concern or present benefit for members of the black race (*The Kansas Headlight*, Aug. 14, 1894, p. 1).

Another journalist, Baptist World editor S. W. Jones, combined the occupations of journalism, politics, and ministry. Jones, a Baptist minister, was involved in local and national church activities, including his work with the denomination's newspaper. Before publishing the Baptist World, Jones used his journalistic skills as a printing foreman at another black paper, the Friend, where he taught his brother, L. C. Jones, the printing trade (*The People's Friend*, Aug. 10, p. 4). His writing appeared in both black and white newspapers (*The People's Friend*, Aug. 10, 1894, p. 4; *The Kansas Star*, June 16, 1894, p. 1). Jones also served as the first black constable in Wichita (Miner, 1988). *The Wichita Eagle*, in an editorial commentary reprinted in the Baptist World, acknowledged the diverse abilities exemplified by Jones as Baptist World editor and the city's constable:

> It is not often that a constable is imbued with a deep religious sentiment, but Sam is an exception. He can drop the editorial pen at any hour of the day, buckle on his six-shooter, give chase to a chicken thief, and return to write the glories of the Baptist faith without the least disturbance in the realm of his thought. (*National Baptist World*, Sept. 7, p. 1)

As constable, Jones encountered some criticism. He used his writing abilities to defend himself and refute charges made by Headlight editor Bettis that he, Jones, shirked his duties as constable:

> ...I [S. W. Jones] wish to say that I have to [*sic*] much respect not only for myself, but the people of Wichita to stoop so low as to measure arms with this boodle seeking, bully-ragging political nomad [Bettis] who now imposes upon the community the affliction of terming

> himself as editor....I wish to say in conclusion regarding my pledges to the race that when my business was so rushing (?), I tendered the position of deputy constable to a colored gentleman of whom I think too much to even bring his name in to this sewerage eminating [sic] from the pencil of this boodle-seeking campaign editor, and would not do so only I want to show this briany [sic] editor what little he knows. He of whom I speak is Thomas Glover who thanked me and said he would not accept it on account of having about arranged to go to another city.... (The People's Friend, Aug. 10, 1894, p. 4)

Jones, a Republican, served as a Sedgwick County delegate to the 1894 Republican state convention (The Kansas Star, June 2, 1894, p. 3).

All three newspapers explicitly identified themselves as newspapers that published information of particular concern to the black citizens of Wichita. While the Friend and the Headlight also acknowledged their political associations with the Republican and Populist parties, respectively, the Baptist World pledged to communicate issues that concerned the members of the Baptist denomination. An examination of the newspapers revealed that most of the issues that were identified in the black newspapers were either race-related issues, or issues that were specified in either the Populist, Republican, or Democratic party platforms. The newspapers focused on political issues of the day, including the tariff on imports to the United States, labor, prohibition, government corruption, women's suffrage, income tax, political party fusion, federal government spending, foreign immigration, monopolies versus growth of private ownership, civil rights, social mobility of blacks, lynching, and emigration by blacks. The newspapers also printed news and social activities of local concern.

Discussion

An examination of three newspapers, the Friend, the Headlight, and the Baptist World, has provided a glimpse into Wichita's political and social life in 1894 as viewed by the city's black citizens. Black citizens were active in the political arena. A difference in political affiliation noticeably affected the communication of information for each paper. The Friend aligned itself with the G.O.P., while the Headlight staunchly backed the Populist Party. The Baptist World, subsidized by the Baptist denomination, rarely advocated a particular political stance or issue during the first five weeks of publication; yet, after the Friend expired, the Baptist World addressed political issues more frequently.

The three black newspapers shared characteristics with other black newspapers from the late-19th century. Though short-lived, the black press of Wichita clearly addressed concerns of the local black community. The newspapers addressed issues of racial concern, such as lynching, social mobility, civil rights, and emigration, as well as acknowledged accomplishments of area blacks. All three papers published similar plate matter. The newspapers ran similar stories of national and state news on their inside pages. Since the Baptist World was an eight-page paper, it carried a greater variety of articles. Black citizens were acknowledged by name in the local sections of each paper.

The Friend, the Baptist World, and the Headlight provide a window to the communication process of Wichita's black citizens during the 1890s. The political climate of that era, roused by Populist rhetoric, spawned an ongoing debate in the city's minority-oriented newspapers. The newspapers evidence a community of citizens who were concerned about social injustice, education, religion, employment, and public service. The newspapers also depict citzens who actively sought social and political change. This research adds some insight into Wichita during the mid-1890s. Further research of other black newspapers and mainstream periodicals published during this era needs to be done to fill in the gaps of the chronicled history of Wichita, Kansas.

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FOOTNOTES

1. In order to provide continuity throughout this paper, the term "black" is used to be inclusive of all references to African American, Afro-American, Negro, and colored as connotative terms. I have chosen this form to follow the precedent of historian Roland Wolseley (1990), in The Black Press, U.S.A., a survey of the black press. The term "mainstream" designates general-circulation newspapers.

2. The "(?)" used in some of the quotations from the black newspapers was the way that editors distinguished sarcastic statements or references.

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The Civil Rights Movement in the 1940s: A Communication Context

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Significant changes in the legal status of black Americans occurred with passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Historical studies of these legislative gains for civil rights often frame them in terms of the culmination of years of demonstrations and violence in the South. Studies of the relationship between the civil rights movement and the news media generally also frame these legal gains within the context of the almost heroic role of the Northern press and television in facilitating the political changes of the 1960s. Broadcast television has received specific commendation for its role in presenting the struggles of Southern blacks to the entire nation.

Evaluation of the relationship of the news media and the civil rights movement and of the development of the movement itself, however, requires a greater perspective than events of the 1960s or even of the 1950s may offer. Analyses of the civil rights movement or civil rights revolution have cited starting points that include the US Supreme Court's Brown v. Board of Education decision in 1954 that ended the principle of "separate but equal" education, the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott in 1955-56, or the student sit-ins that began in Greensboro, North Carolina, in 1960. The Brown case, which was a consolidation of lawsuits from Delaware, Kansas, South Carolina, and Virginia,[1] represented the culmination of successful court challenges in the 1930s and 1940s to end racial discrimination in education, accommodations, voting rights, and judicial process.[2] Organizers of the Montgomery bus boycott used many of the tactics of the Harlem bus boycott of 1941 that helped to move the Rev. Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. from his church ministry to the New York City Council and the US Congress. Sit-ins to end discrimination in accommodations in the South followed a blueprint that had its origins and initial implementation in the North in the 1940s.[3]

Did the 1950s herald a "revolution" in civil rights activities? Henry Lee Moon, press secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which for decades had waged court battles for black Americans, told a conference on media and race relations in 1965 that the civil rights "revolution" did not begin with the school desegregation decision in 1954 or student sit-ins in 1960. Moon told the conference that the only revolution of the 1950s and 1960s involved "white Americans' awareness of a problem as old as the nation." [4]

When the widow of Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP during the 1940s, wrote to civil rights leader A. Philip Randolph in 1974, she told him she planned a new book about her husband to correct some misperceptions: "I hope to be able to help set the record straight on some of the subjects which appear to have been either ignored or overlooked by a part of the world that believes that the civil rights movement begin in the Sixties." [5] In a similar memo, John Lewis, now a US representative from Georgia, and civil rights activist Bayard Rustin indicated that the civil rights movement had entered its third phase after 1965. "The first period ended in 1954 when the Supreme Court declared segregation illegal. The second period ended in 1965 following the passage of the Voting Rights Act." [6] Historian Richard Dalfiume has described the 1940s as the "forgotten years" of the US civil rights movement.[7] "Overlooking what went before, most recent books on the subject claim that a Negro 'revolution' or 'revolt' occurred in 1954, 1955, 1960, or 1963," Dalfiume wrote in 1968.[8]

This paper examines civil rights initiatives between 1940 and 1943 when mobilization for World II and protest campaigns generated interest in racial discrimination issues throughout the country. Of particular interest is the relationship between a press divided along regional, racial, and ideological grounds in the 1940s and the black protest campaigns. As diversification of media continues, assumptions of the role of mass communication in social organization come into question. As mass communication evolves into computer-mediated communication, a new evaluative framework that emphasizes communication processes rather than media institutions may be necessary. This paper analyzes communication and social movement relationships prior to emergence of television as a dominant communications medium but when many of the same issues and personalities were in place in the civil rights movement.

This paper first will examine the literature on social movements and communication and evolving trends of thought on the dynamics of such relationships. The paper also will look at literature that has dealt specifically with the relationship between the media and the civil rights movement. The paper then will look at the civil rights initiatives of the 1940s and specifically the development of the March on Washington Movement between 1940 and 1943 and its communication context. The paper will conclude with an analysis of the lessons that the communication context of the civil rights movement of the 1940s might bring to the development of a new evaluative framework for the relationship between computer-mediated communication and social movements.

Collective action

Scholarship of the 1940s placed social movements as a special case of "collective action" that could range from a street fight to a national revolution.[9] Robert Ezra Park and Ernest W. Burgess in Introduction to the Science of Sociology, first published in 1922 and a standard textbook for more than two decades, identified social movements as the reorganizational phase as society faced external stresses. [10] Jerome Davis in 1930 published Contemporary Social Movements as the first textbook on social movements in the United States. [11] Davis also found social movements as self-correcting devices for society: "These modern social movements are reactions on the part of individuals and groups to unsatisfactory conditions in the social life. There is a maladjustment which causes mental and social friction, and the movement develops as an effort to bring about social harmony." [12] Davis contended that failure of social movements to address those stresses might result in revolution. [13] Although Davis noted in the first paragraph of the textbook the changing status of black Americans as an impetus for his study of social movements, he did not return to the issue of civil rights in the nine-hundred-page volume.[14]

Herbert Blumer in 1946 explicated the tenets of the collective action theory of social movements. Blumer defined social movements as "collective enterprises seeking to establish a new order of life." [15] Blumer distinguished between reform movements that recognize and work within existing social norms and revolutionary movements that seek to overthrow those social norms.[16] He also distinguished between general social movements, which lack organization and provide a general direction for change, and specific social movements, which have well-established goals and develop an organizational structure to accomplish those goals. [17] Blumer also described expressive social movements that do not seek to change the social order but rather the behavior of individuals and the character of society. Blumer's examples of expressive movements involved religion, fashion, and cultural affairs. [18]

Social movements are evolutionary, under the collective action model, and include stages of social unrest, popular excitement, formalization, and institutionalization. [19] According to Blumer, a social movement in the beginning is "amorphous, poorly organized, and without form." [20] As the social movement goes from the general to the specific stage, it acquires the "character of a society." [21]

With increasing social unrest in the 1960s and 1970s scholars turned to other models to evaluate social movements. An economic model provided the foundation for resource mobilization, which tended to look less at the objectives of social movements and their opponents and more to the resources the participants employed in achieving their goals.[22] Critical theorists tended to reinforce the differences between social movements and elites to the point that change short or revolution seemed unlikely.[23] While the notions of haves and have-nots became hardened within the perspective of the "dominant paradigm," [24] other scholars tended to view US society more in line with the notions of pluralism and competition of generally equal groups.[25] Although sociologists such as Blumer viewed social movements as an aberration of the social order, [26] upheavals of the 1960s and 1970s brought social movements more into the mainstream of US life.[27]

Communication and social movements

Studies of communication roles in social movements generally have involved two aspects: the role of mass media institutions and the role of communication processes. Davis in 1930 identified the press, radio, and even television as among the "instruments of control" in society. [28] Blumer examined both the role of communication in providing internal cohesion for developing social movements and for helping to create "popular excitement" through mass communication.[29] According to Blumer, reform movements have full use of the press as an existing social institution because they recognize social norms and values, but revolutionary movements have to go underground because they reject those values: "Whatever use is made of existing institutions has to be carefully disguised." [30]

Although some critics of the resource mobilization approach as looking only at the media as just another resource to use,[31] sociologist Harvey Molotch in 1979 characterized the mass media as key resources for mobilization:

> A social movement must create a societal context in which it can survive, prosper and ultimately triumph. One important resource in providing for this fertile context is the mass media and, in particular, the print and broadcast news. Social movements represent those portions of society that lie outside the ordinary routines of exercising power and influence. For them, the mass media represent a potential mechanism for utilizing an establishment institution to fulfill nonestablishment goals: communicating with movement followers, reaching out to potential recruits, would-be opponents, and confusing or otherwise immobilizing committed opponents. [32]

Molotch noted that separations of movements and media actually may be impractical since media and movements are part of the same process of social interaction and maintenance or loss of social stability. [33]

Subsequent approaches to study of mass communication and social movements have viewed the interaction of media and movements. The medium system dependency theory has looked both at the goals and tactics of the media as well as the goals and tactics of the social movements.[34] The transactional analysis approach carries this process one step further with discussion of framing techniques[35] as well as use of resources of both of the media and social movements.[36] Framing involves the "reality" that the social movement wants the media to present and the "reality" that the media want to present about social movements. [37] Imbalance in resources between the media and social movement helps to determine framing as well as other tactical victories. [38]

Blacks and the media

Media coverage of black Americans and of the civil rights movement remain issues of contention. William J. Drummond, a former journalist and now a journalism professor, noted in 1991 that the press best covered the civil rights movement in the 1960s when issues of segregation and racial discrimination were clear,[39] but the press could not deal with the complex issues of the economic status of black Americans that eventually emerged. [40] Drummond contended that the news media give attention "to the moment" and rarely provide "more than a polite and cursory bow toward their historical and social context." [41] Among the analyses of press coverage of the civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s[42] was Race and the News Media, a 1965 project of the University of Missouri that brought together journalists and civil rights movement spokesmen to discuss coverage of the movement. Coordinators Paul L. Fisher and Ralph Lowenstein indicated that before the Brown decision in 1954, "the news media of the United States rarely treated racial issues as a distinct and urgent story." [43] Fisher and Lowenstein might have qualified that statement to the effect that the white-owned news media had failed to address racial issues since participants in the project noted the role of the black press in presenting issues of racial concern.[44]

An analysis of the relationship between the news media and black Americans in the 1940s came in Swedish sociologist Gunnar Myrdal's study, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy, published in 1944. Myrdal found that the liberal Southern press was doing a better job than the Northern press in covering black Americans and racial issues,[45] and the implications were profound:

> There are many educated Northerners who are well-informed about foreign problems but almost absolutely ignorant about Negro conditions both in their own city and in the nation as a whole. This has great practical importance for the Negro people. A great many Northerners, perhaps the majority, get shocked and shaken in their conscience when they learn the facts. The average Northerner does not understand the reality and the effects of such discriminations as those in which he himself is taking part in his routine of life. *To get publicity is of the highest strategic importance to the Negro people* (Original emphasis). [46]

Myrdal qualified his critique of the Northern press with the assertion that when racial problems did emerge, the white newspapers in the North "usually stand for equality." [47]

Northern and Southern newspapers had sparred over coverage of racial issues in the 1940s and 1950s with the Virginia execution of Odell Waller in 1942[48] and the lynching of Emmett Till in Mississippi in 1955.[49] Waller's supporters said the death penalty had been the result of economic injustice and racial discrimination in jury-selection. The Montgomery bus boycott in 1955 and 1956 brought a new round of charges and countercharges as Grover Hall, Jr., the publisher of the Montgomery Advertiser, printed numerous articles on the failure of Northern newspapers to cover racial problems in their own backyards.[50] Debate about regional coverage continued in the 1960s as *Life* Managing Editor George P. Hunt noted at the University of Missouri conference in 1965:

> (T)he press was geographically divided. But the division, often angry, always sharp, served more to localize the race problem in the South than to place it in the proper national perspective. The segregationist press, annoyed by the attention the trouble was getting in the Northern press, retaliated by pointing to the ghettos of the Northern cities and telling them to mend their own fences. Their remarks were brushed aside at the very least as distasteful and beside the point. Though not exactly given in the spirit of constructive advice, the criticism was correct. The intensity of the continuing news story in the South seemed to have put blinders on Northern editors.[51]

A 1992 analysis of the role of television in the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s continued to frame the civil rights story as heroic Northern reporters against the hostility of the South. Robert J. Donovan and Raymond Scherer in Unsilent Revolution: Television News and American Public Life criticized Southern newspapers and radio and television stations for their failure to cover adequately the civil rights movement in the South. "No satisfactory coverage of the regional crisis was provided even by the otherwise most enlightened Southern papers." [52] Donovan and Scherer, both veteran journalists, were unequivocal in their analysis of the origins of a Southern civil rights revolution. They contended that the revolution "began when a man and the eye of the television film camera came together, giving the camera a focal point for events breaking from state to state, and the man, Martin Luther King, Jr., high exposure on television sets from coast to coast." [53]

Looking backward

When Harlem residents in 1941 became tired of city bus companies' job discrimination against blacks, they decided to use a tactic that had been successful for the Transportation Workers Union in New York City only a few weeks before. They went on strike. Neither television cameras nor the *New York Times* followed their progress or the activities of their leader, also a young clergyman, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr.[54]

Supporters of the protest vowed not to ride the buses until the city's bus companies began to hire blacks as drivers and mechanics.[55] The only black employees of the bus companies were janitors.[56] Along with pickets and mass meetings, organizers of the bus strike used a "jitney" service of privately owned automobiles to transport boycotters.[57] After more than a month, the strike ended as the bus companies agreed to hire black drivers and mechanics.[58]

Although the *New York Times* did not cover the strike, New York readers found details of the protest in *PM*, an afternoon tabloid that accepted no advertising and supported labor and civil rights issues.[59] *PM* reporter Tom O'Connor wrote that black leaders in Harlem hoped that the strike would have national significance: "It will decide for the whole country, they say, whether the exploited, job-hungry, kicked-around black people of the nation can through their own united effort command a place in the economic sun." [60]

Although the Harlem bus strike organizers failed to sustain a national protest, the period between 1940 and 1943 included the establishment of two national civil rights organizations. The March on Washington Movement, which excluded whites from membership, promoted "direct action" to end discrimination, initially in defense jobs, and eventually in all aspects of US life,[61] and the Congress of Racial Equality, an interracial group that sought integration of public accommodations through civil disobedience.[62] The March on Washington Movement began after President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued an executive order to end discrimination in defense industries July 25, 1941. A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and a coalition of black leaders had threatened a march of 100,000 black Americans on the nation's capital unless Roosevelt acted to end racial discrimination in war mobilization.[63] Roosevelt's executive order created a Fair Employment Practices Committee to monitor hiring practices of defense industries. Randolph then worked to transform the organizing committee for the march into an ongoing civil rights movement.[64]

Historians have addressed the status of black Americans during the New Deal[65] and the role of the Fair Employment Practices Committee in efforts to end racial discrimination in defense jobs, [66] but sociologist Herbert Garfinkel in 1959 did the only extensive study of the

March on Washington Movement and its relationship to the civil rights movement that was beginning in the South in the 1950s.[67] At least two biographers of Randolph have used Garfinkel's research in their studies of the role of the black labor leader in the civil rights movement,[68] but Paula Pfeffer's most recent study of Randolph's civil rights leadership used the papers of Randolph and other civil rights leaders in her study of his work with the March on Washington Movement.[69]

Changing Environment

Establishment of the March on Washington Movement as the Harlem bus boycott came amid changes in civil rights attitudes in the 1930s and 1940s. Election of Franklin Roosevelt in 1932 marked the beginning of the New Deal and a more direct intervention of the federal government in the lives of the nation's citizens and their economic well-being. Although historians have debated if the New Deal benefited black Americans[70] and the effectiveness of the "black cabinet," black advisors to government departments, that Roosevelt put in place,[71] programs for basic survival and job training began to help black Americans as well as white Americans.[72] Roosevelt attempted to maintain a coalition that included Southern segregationists,[73] but his judicial appointments began to move the federal government into action against racial discrimination throughout the country.[74] His wife, Eleanor, became a symbol of liberalism on racial issues.[75]

Such symbolism came into play in 1939 when the Daughters of the American Revolution refused to let black diva Marian Anderson perform at Constitution Hall in Washington, DC. Eleanor Roosevelt resigned from the DAR, and Secretary of Interior Harold Ickes allowed use of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, DC, as an alternate site for Anderson's performance.[76] Anderson's concert brought an integrated audience of 75,000 to the Lincoln Memorial.[77]

March on Washington

Although the precise credit for the idea of a march on Washington to protest job discrimination remains an issue of some contention,[78] failure of black leaders to win concessions from President Roosevelt on desegregation in the defense industries and the military in 1940 brought calls for increased protests.[79] The National Urban League had called a mass protest meeting in Kansas City, Missouri, and attracted five thousand participants, the largest protest meeting of black Americans in the history of that city, according to Lester B. Granger, Urban League executive secretary in the 1940s.[80] The United States was beginning to emerge from the depths of the Depression as Axis invasions spurred economic growth in defense industries. Despite past participation of black Americans in US wars, the military services had limited their service to segregated units in the US Army and mess duty in the Navy. The Marines and the Air Corps would not accept blacks into service. Many defense industries also limited blacks to janitorial jobs.

In January 1941 Randolph issued through the black press the call for a march on Washington July 1, 1941. The call to march had the support of a coalition of black leaders that included Powell, Granger of the Urban League, and White of the NAACP, but the ***Pittsburgh Courier***, the nation's largest-circulation black newspaper, opposed the march editorially from the outset although the publication ran news coverage that included Randolph's initial call for the protest. The *Pittsburgh Courier* had devoted extensive coverage to racial discrimination in defense industries and the military, but one of its editorials described the march as "a crackpot proposal." [81]

As the target date approached, Roosevelt attempted to diffuse the initiative with pledges of support for removal of barriers to black employment in defense industries.[82] He also sent emissaries including the first lady to dissuade march organizers from proceeding.[83] Although no transcript exists of the eventual meeting June 18, 1941, between Roosevelt and march organizers, participants later reported that the president made a direct appeal for an end to march plans that Randolph rejected.[84] March organizers had asked for an end of discrimination in defense industries, federal jobs, and the military, but Roosevelt's executive order only addressed discrimination in defense industries.[85] After Roosevelt issued the executive order, Randolph first canceled and then "postponed" the march on Washington.[86]

Black newspapers announced Roosevelt's decision with banner headlines,[87] but coverage of the executive order in the white-owned press was minimal. Although the *New York Herald-Tribune* provided a front-page story about the president's action and *PM* carried full coverage on an inside page,[88] the *New York Times* story on page 12 dealt only with the text of the order and did not mention the march threat that led to the order.[89] The *Washington Post* carried a front-page story that included a comment from Randolph.[90] The *Atlanta Constitution* carried two paragraphs from United Press on page 5.[91] *Time* included no mention of the executive order.

Roosevelt's order brought praise from the black press including the *Pittsburgh Courier*. Although the *Courier* could not support the proposed march as a tactic to gain job opportunities, an editorial writer could not resist the recognition that the end had, in fact, justified the means:

> If it be true, as it has been inferred that the President issued this order because of fear of the march on Washington, we can see no compelling reason why the march was postponed, since discrimination in defense industries still exists and will continue until new controls are operative. Aside from this necessary analysis for the record, there must be a feeling of elation and relief in the heart of every American Negro and of all friends of democracy over the great first step toward national unity. [92]

Some black leaders characterized the order as the most important civil rights action of the century and compared Roosevelt's order to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.[93] Black leaders also indicated that organization of the march on Washington was necessary to help place the destiny of black Americans in their own hands. White of the NAACP in 1942 said "the Negro is also a realist; he knows that if the concept of the Negro as a second-class citizen is to be changed, the major part of the work to effect such a change must be done by the Negro himself." [94] Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. in 1945 described Roosevelt's executive order "as the most significant gain ever made by Negroes under their own power. The world stood up and took notice. The Negroes were no longer children but a mature minority." [95]

Although the march proposal had brought support from black communities throughout the nation, Randolph's decision to cancel the July 1 march after the issuance of the executive brought criticism. A youth group of the March on Washington Committee issued a formal letter of protest to Randolph.[96] Randolph, a socialist, had attempted to keep communists out of the protest effort, and the communist press characterized the march postponement as a "sell-out." [97]

March on Washington Movement

While the march on Washington failed to proceed, Randolph attempted to use the enthusiasm that the march idea had generated to establish an on-going movement against discrimination. The March on Washington Movement, which had offices in New York, Chicago, and Washington, DC, and chapters in more than twenty cities including Denver, Kansas City, Missouri; Los Angeles, New Orleans, and Jacksonville, Florida, has received characterization as the first black "direct action" protest movement in the United States.[98]

Randolph promoted the March on Washington Movement as a blacks-only organization, and that decision brought some criticism from liberal white supporters of the civil rights initiative[99] and at least one editor of a black newspaper. "As one of your strong supporter I am a little concerned about your policy of excluding Whites from participating in the movement and from active membership in the March on Washington Movement," wrote C. B. Powell, editor of the *Amsterdam Star-News*. "From my way of thinking it appears to me that this resolution is undemocratic and denotes the segregation and elimination of Whites who would help the cause of Negro advancement." [100]

Randolph said the movement would work in coordination with other integrated groups such as the NAACP and the Urban League and white groups to promote its goals.[101] According to one Randolph biographer, the civil rights leader believed that blacks could not depend on whites for advancement.[102] Randolph also attempted to broaden the focus of the movement from job discrimination to all racial bias in the country and to promote the use of civil disobedience to counter discrimination.[103] The March on Washington Movement sponsored successful rallies in New York, Chicago, and St. Louis in 1942,[104] a much less successful prayer march in New York in 1942, [105] and a "We Are Americans, Too" conference in Chicago in 1943 that was essentially the end of the movement as a national force. [106]

FEPC

Creation of the Fair Employment Practices Committee represented a step forward for opponents of job discrimination, but they soon discovered that the effort would be ongoing through the end of the war.[107] President Roosevelt's nominees for the committee included two blacks, Earl Dickerson, a Chicago councilman, and Milton Webster, a vice president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.[108] These appointments brought criticism from the *Pittsburgh Courier* as did appointment of Mark Ethridge, publisher of the *Louisville Courier-Journal* as committee chairman. A *Courier* editorial questioned why a representative of the black press, which had helped lead the fight against job discrimination had not received an appointment.[109] Also serving as the first members of the panel were David Sarnoff, president or RCA, and labor leaders Philip Murray of the Committee on Industrial Organization and William Green of the American Federation of Labor.[110] While Roosevelt created the FEPC as an independent agency with direct funding from the White House, the transfer of the committee in 1942 to the War Manpower Office of the Department of Labor brought protests that the agency would lose its independence and face funding cutbacks from a Congress that Southern segregationists dominated.[111] Roosevelt granted the agency a reprieve with a new executive order in 1943, but Randolph and other black leaders began to push for continuation of the fair employment practices committee after the war.[112] Randolph headed the National Committee for a Permanent FEPC, a coalition of groups against job discrimination.[113]

Court cases

Along with some progress in combating racial discrimination in employment, advances also came in the 1940s in court battles against racial discrimination in voting, judicial process, accommodations, and education. The NAACP and NAACP Legal Defense Fund waged most of these battles in federal courts. As early as 1915 the Supreme Court had banned use of the "grandfather clause" to limit registration of blacks to vote.[114] Oklahoma had attempted to restrict registration to a brief period of time unless the applicant had been on the voter rolls at a time when blacks did not have the right to vote.[115]

The Supreme Court affirmed this ban of the "grandfather clause" in Lane v. Wilson in 1939.[116] The Supreme Court moved to reassert federal control over state primary elections in 1941 with a vote fraud case in Louisiana.[117] Although the black press hailed the case, U.S. v. Classic, as a possible end of the all-white primary,[118] the high court did not act specifically to ban all-white primaries until a Texas case, Smith v. Allwright, in 1944.[119]

The Supreme Court in 1936 also began addressing racial discrimination in the criminal justice system. In Pierre v. Louisiana in 1936 the court began a series of cases that ordered new trials for black defendants because selection procedures for grand juries had excluded blacks.[120] The court continued to order to counties to include blacks on grand juries in cases in Texas in 1940[121] and 1942.[122] The court noted in Hill v. Texas in 1942 that "not the least merit of our system is that it safeguards extend to all – the least deserving as well as the most virtuous." [123]

The Waller Case

Racial discrimination in jury selection became a political cause in 1940 when the killing of a Virginia farmer pushed Odell Waller into national headlines and debate.[124] Waller and Oscar Davis both were tenant farmers in Virginia, and Waller killed Davis after Davis had withheld the Waller family's share of a wheat crop.[125] Although Waller admitted the shooting, his supporters indicated that the killing was "self-defense" and that an all-white jury had not given him a fair trial.[126] The Workers Defense League and other socialist groups took up Waller's cause [127] as did some of the Northern press.[128] Although the *Richmond News-Dispatch* and its liberal editor, Virginius Dabney, initially supported Waller, editorial criticism of Virginia in the *New York Times* brought questions from Dabney about the jury selection procedures in New York.[129] Support for Waller including a March on Washington Movement rally at Madison Square Garden in June 1942 helped to win several delays,[130] but Virginia Gov. Colgate A. Darden ordered the execution for July 2, 1942.[131] A subsequent prayer march for Waller in New York July 25 brought only five-hundred participants and questions about the leadership and organization of the March of Washington Movement, which sponsored the event. [132]

Accommodations

The sole black member of Congress won a public accommodations case in 1941 that brought hope of an end to racial discrimination in transportation. US Rep. Arthur Mitchell, a Chicago Democrat, challenged his removal from Pullman accommodations when the train he was riding entered Arkansas, which required racial separation.[133] The Supreme Court held that the purchase of a first-class ticket warranted full service in interstate train travel.[134] Mitchell brought the case at his own expense and declined the aid of the NAACP.[135] The Supreme Court expanded this decision to interstate travel on buses in 1946,[136] and this case brought the first "freedom rides" as blacks tested the decision's impact.[137] Among those arrested in North Carolina was Bayard Rustin, who served as an advisor both to Randolph and the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.[138] Further expansion of the decision in 1960 to include terminal facilities brought a new wave of "freedom rides" throughout the South.[139]

Education

Erosion of school segregation and the "separate but equal" doctrine began in 1938 with the Gaines case in which the Supreme Court held that universities had to provide equal graduate school facilities to black students. Provision of a scholarship to a graduate school in a neighboring state was not sufficient to meet that requirement, the court held.[140] The court expanded that decision in 1950 to provide that if a state-supported university opens its doors to black students then all students have to receive the same treatment and state-supported colleges cannot separate students in classes or in other campus facilities.[141] Litigation of the Brown case began in 1951, and the court issued its unanimous decision to overturn " separate but equal" provision of education on May 17, 1954.[142] On May 31, 1955, the court directed states to proceed with desegregation "with all deliberate speed." [143]

Civil Rights in the 1940s

Both internal and external problems may have contributed to the failure of the March on Washington group to sustain a role in the civil rights movement. Both critics and friends of Randolph indicated that his leadership style may not have been suitable for a proposed broad-based organization such as the March on Washington movement. In an interview for a magazine article in 1949, Morris Milgrim, a long-time Randolph friend, said: "Phil often does not work well with people in groups, for he often communes closely with his conscience, conceives a plan of action, and expects the group to move right along with him, trusting his judgment implicitly." [144] George Schuyler, a columnist for the *Pittsburgh Courier*, had indicated that the March on Washington Movement essentially was a one-man operation,[145] and others indicated that Randolph did not delegate authority well and also involved himself in too many activities to be effective in any one campaign. Randolph attempted to hold his base in the labor movement while maintaining his oversight of the March on Washington Movement and the National Committee for a Permanent FEPC. [146]

Randolph's failure to direct personally the prayer march for Odell Waller may have resulted in its limited attendance and President Roosevelt's subsequent decision not to meet with him and other black leaders. Randolph on August 1, 1942, asked for a meeting with Roosevelt "in view of the growing intensity of feeling of bitterness and resentment among Negroes,[147] but W. H. McIntyre, secretary to Roosevelt, replied in a telegram on August 6, 1942: "Regret that owing to extreme pressure on the president's time impossible to make appointment requested." [148] If Franklin Roosevelt's schedule did not have time for Randolph, Randolph's schedule did not have time for Eleanor Roosevelt: "Mr. Randolph is out of town and will be unable to make the engagement at the White House this afternoon." [149]

Randolph also had faced a mutiny in the Chicago division of the March on Washington Movement in 1942 with a petition that questioned the leadership of the division's director, Charles Wesley Burton, [150] and complaints from the New York division in 1943 about the effectiveness of the national executive secretary, Pauline Meyers. Financial difficulties also resulted in a notice to Meyers that she would lose her post.[151] Randolph's insistence that the March on Washington Movement include only blacks and depend only on black donations may limited economic resources available to the group.[152] Meyers resigned before the dismissal became effective.[153]

Establishment of the March on Washington Movement had brought another civil rights organization into competition for members and financial support. Migration of blacks to the North and creation of a black working class allowed organization of the March on Washington Movement.[154] Although supporters of the movement indicated that the group could attract the working class while the NAACP and the Urban League attracted the more affluent,[155] all of the groups were competing for rather limited resources. [156] Randolph also was one of several leaders of the civil rights movements whose supporters sometimes found in competition. Among those in the spotlight were White of the NAACP, Granger of the Urban League, and Powell, who won election as Harlem's first congressman. Editorials in the *Pittsburgh Courier* also frequently complained that it had not received enough credit for its leadership in battling discrimination in defense industries and ill treatment of black soldiers.

Historian Richard Dalfiume and others have noted that the war against Hitler and the theory of a master race had provided a useful framing for a campaign against racial discrimination in the United States.[157] Placards at protests against defense industries read: "Hitler Must Run This Plant. They Won't Employ Negroes." [158] Although the battle against the Axis helped to frame the civil rights movement of the 1940s, even supporters of the movement sometimes questioned its effects on the war effort. The protest rallies of the March on Washington Movement brought concern even from Mary McLeod Bethune, the titular head of Roosevelt's "black cabinet." [159] Randolph assured Bethune that the movement was supportive of the Allied cause, but that cause also involved furthering the interest of blacks. [160] "Winning Democracy for the Negro is Winning the War for Democracy" was one slogan of the March on Washington Movement. The *Pittsburgh Courier* in 1942 launched his "Double-V" campaign for victory at home and victory abroad.[161] The advocacy of the black press for an end to job discrimination and its articles about violence against black military personnel in the South brought some suggestions in the Roosevelt administration that the government seek sedition charges against the black publishers or limit their publishing supplies. Roosevelt dismissed those notions.[162]

Students of social movements indicate that the more narrow a movement's goals, the better its chance of accomplishing them.[163] After some success with job discrimination, Randolph attempted to broaden the movement to include all aspects of racial discrimination including accommodations, judicial process, voting and education. Randolph called for a conference of black Americans in Chicago in May 1943 "to ponder and discuss the use of non-violent civil disobedience as a technique for their liberation." [164] Randolph postponed the conference to June, but race riots in Detroit, Texas, and Florida diverted attention from the peaceful demonstrations against discrimination that the conference endorsed. [165] Although the March on Washington Movement remained in existence until after World II, its work essentially ended in 1943 with the failure of the civil disobedience campaign, the departure of Meyers as the national executive secretary, and the creation of the National Committee for a Permanent FEPC. [166]

Although the civil rights movement earned some judicial and executive victories in the 1940s, a Southern-dominated Congress failed to provide support and worked to limit other advances such as the FEPC.[167] The earlier FEPC victories and the support of Eleanor Roosevelt for civil rights advances may have reinforced opposition in the South.[168] When the Fair Employment Practices Committee conducted a hearing in Birmingham, Alabama, the white-owned press covered the proceedings that included some surprises.[169] Mark Ethridge, the liberal publisher of the *Louisville Courier-Journal* and committee chairman, opened the hearing with a statement that asserted that efforts to end job discrimination for blacks did not mean support for "social equality." [170] Ethridge's comments brought shock from the black press. [171]

The *New York Times* coverage of events surrounding the Birmingham hearing included interviews with black leaders and other black residents of Alabama to determine their reform interests.[172] Correspondent Brooks Atkinson, who later gained acclaim as a *Times* drama critic, reassured his Northern readers that a move toward "social equality" would not come during the lifetime of any persons in the current generation. [173]

Press fragmentation

The civil rights movement in the 1940s had access to the black press for internal cohesion. Along with the commercial press, organizational journals such as the *Black Worker* of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, *Crisis* of the NAACP, and *Opportunity* of the Urban League were available to mobilize the black community. The March on Washington Movement produced at least one newsletter, but Randolph used the black press extensively to distribute the message of the movement. Randolph was in frequent correspondence with editors of the newspapers and provided articles for their publications. Even the *Pittsburgh Courier*, which criticized Randolph and the March on Washington Movement , published Randolph-written articles. Randolph and other black leaders used telegrams to expressed their views on national issues to the White House, and leaders of the civil rights movement maintained extensive correspondence.

Although Randolph generally was the singular spokesman for the March on Washington Movement, that role posed problems for Randolph and for the movement. Internal divisions were evident in a letter that Layle Lane, a March on Washington Movement board member, sent to Randolph to complain about the participation of L. D. Reddick, the curator of the Schomburg Center at the New York Public Library, in preparation of a conference manifesto:

> First as everyone here knows he is a fellow traveler if not a CP (Communist Party) member. They will claim that you had to go to them to write statements for the March. But even more important than that is the lack of organizational responsibility. Dr. Reddick has never contributed to the March, has never worked with it, and certainly should not now become its mouthpiece.[174]

Randolph, who had helped to edit a socialist magazine, *The Messenger*, earlier in his career, initially depended on his own writing skills to carry his message forward, and he only reluctantly allowed others to write for the movements he led. His friend, Morris Milgrim, indicated that: "Part of his weakness as a leader is his inability to get together as good a staff as he might – I refer largely to technical matters, such as publicity and editorial work and ghostwriting, on which his staff was especially weak until 1945 and probably still is." [175]

Milgrim also indicated that the "lack of an adequate publicity apparatus" eventually doomed Randolph's civil disobedience campaign.[176]

Along with Randolph's contribution of articles to black newspapers, he also made suggestions for other coverage.[177] Randolph urged the *Afro-American* in 1942 to send a reporter to Richmond, Virginia, to interview Odell Waller, his family, and others involved in defense to building support for clemency. "If this is convenient, I am confident that it will meet with the general sympathetic approval of the Negro people." [178] He also asked the *Pittsburgh Courier* in 1942 "to carry a front-page headline and also an editorial for the Madison Square Garden meeting in New York June 16th. It will mean much." [179] Randolph was in correspondence with editors of black newspapers around the country not only to publicize activities of the March on Washington Movement but also to help organize more chapters of the movement. Randolph sent such requests to editors at the *Los Angeles Tribune*, [180] the *Journal and Guide* of Norfolk, Virginia, [181] *The News* of Columbus, Ohio,[182] and *The Call* of Kansas City. [183]

Publicity continued to be a concern of board member Layle Lane prior to the Chicago conference in 1943, which she told Randolph her schedule would not allow her to attend. "Even if MOWM were able to get out its own news sheet I believe it is important to make use of the Negro press." She suggested that Randolph write a column for one of the black newspaper even if that meant use of a ghost writer. "While this would not be an advertising medium for the March necessarily still much of the MOW action could be woven in at times. It would also keep the name of the leader before the public in a constructive way." [184]

Randolph and supporters of the March on Washington Movement sought coverage in the white press for the anti-discrimination initiatives. Randolph in a letter to the *New York Times* in 1942 sought coverage for the Madison Square Garden rally: "The Negro needs the aid of your paper in making this protest meeting a success. Beginning this week we shall be sending you information on the same for your news columns, and do solicit an editorial on the matter in your paper from time to time." [185] *The Times* devoted one newspaper column on page 11 to coverage of the rally.[186] The *Times* opened the story with the appointment of Frank Crosswaith, a black labor organizer, to a municipal housing board.[187] The story mentioned the "march on Washington" as the stimulus for the meeting but did not discuss the organization of the March on Washington movement or its goals.[188]

The *Chicago Tribune* in its coverage of the Chicago mass rally June 26, 1942, failed to mention the March on Washington Movement at all. "More than 10,000 Negroes packed the Coliseum last night to protest alleged discrimination by the government against members of their race in the armed forces and in war industries," the *Tribune* reported.[189] The article did not cover Randolph's comments to the rally and incorrectly identified him a member of the FEPC.[190]

Dwight MacDonald, who co-wrote with his wife a pamphlet on the segregated armed forces for March on Washington Movement distribution, in 1943 expressed concern about publicity for the group. MacDonald, a white supporter of the movement, suggested that Randolph invite Sen. Sheridan Downy of California, a supporter of civil rights, to address a meeting. "If he speaks, the white press would have to give us a publicity break." [191] MacDonald also recommended distribution of the armed forces pamphlet to all members of Congress. "The liberals might mention it favorable on the floor, and the reactionaries, like (Mississippi Rep. John E.) Rankin, might get so worked up about the pamphlet that they would denounce it – also good publicity." [192]

Elmer Carter, a black member of the Unemployment Insurance Appeal Board for the New York Department of Labor, in 1942 had suggested an indirect method to gain news coverage in this country through resolutions for "the peoples of India, the peoples of Africa under the imperialism of European powers, and to the peoples of Latin America and South America, and to the heroic fighters of the USSR." Carter asserted that "you can readily see that such resolutions and greetings will be picked up by the foreign language press, and by the representatives of Nehru and of the Soviet Government and even by the British press and receive thereby wide publicity, and reaction will come hurtling back to America." [193]

Randolph said, in promoting the Chicago rally in 1942, that to help the black American "make his voice and cause heard and felt, we must, like trade unions, stage demonstrations big enough to break into the main streams of public opinion and put the question of Negro rights on the front page of the daily (white) press." [194]

Favorable coverage of discrimination issues in the white-owned press did not win raves from the black press. Although *PM*'s coverage of civil rights issues brought praise from the National Urban League,[195] the *Pittsburgh Courier* questioned why in 1941 *PM* had come so late to the issue of discrimination in defense industries. [196] *PM* published an eight-page report with text and photographs on job discrimination in May 1941, prior to Roosevelt's executive order. [197] The *Courier* also criticized the lack of blacks on the *PM* staff and in the employ of Marshall Field, the Chicago financier who was the prime financial backer of the publication. [198]

Division of the press along regional, racial, and ideological lines prevented national coverage of civil rights issues. Although the black press and the Communist press bannered every victory against discrimination in the North, Midwest, and West, the white-owned press either limited coverage or failed to cover racial issues. The white-owned press generally only ventured into racial coverage south of the Mason-Dixon line. As Myrdal noted, the Northern press rarely covered crime against blacks unless the issue was Southern lynching that made southerners look bad.[199] Northern press coverage of Southern racial problems rankled even the most liberal of the Southern editors such as Virginius Dabney.[200]

Although the black press and *PM* gave extensive coverage in 1941 to the acquittal of Joseph Sharp, a black chauffeur in Connecticut, in the alleged rape of his socialite employer, most white-owned newspapers declined to cover the trial or the verdict. While the black press heralded the acquittal, *Time* praised the white-owned press for its general restraint despite the sensational aspects of the case. [201]

Conclusions

Existence of a fragmented press initially did not pose extensive problems for organization of the March on Washington Movement since the group, under the collective action model, was in its incipient phase. Randolph's goal was to build a blacks-only organization that eventually would push for equal rights in all areas. Through the black press and publications of civil rights organizations such as the NAACP and the Urban League, Randolph had access to black communities throughout the country. He also made use of the resources of the black church and his own union that had members and locals throughout the country. The union locals helped to organize chapters of the March on Washington Movement, and the union locals and movement chapters eventually helped to organize local affiliates of the National Committee for a Permanent FEPC.

When Randolph attempted to shift the movement to the next phase, a civil disobedience campaign against all forms of racial discrimination, he lacked the necessary resources to carry his message to a wider audience. As his friend, Morris Milgrim, noted, the lack of an adequate "publicity apparatus" contributed to the failure of the civil disobedience drive. The organization also lacked other organizational, financial, and, political resources to meet its ends. Failure of the March on Washington Movement to remain a national force should not lessen evaluations of civil rights initiatives of the era.

Failure to acknowledge the civil rights movement before the Brown decision in 1954 or the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955 seems to be a denial of racial problems in the North. The civil rights movement of the 1940s involved battles against discrimination in the North, Midwest, and West as well as the South. The Brown decision in 1954 marked the culmination of decades of legal battles throughout the country and affirmed the willingness of the federal government to intervene in discrimination issues. Victories gained in the North, Midwest, and West in the 1930s and 1940s set the stage for the civil rights movement to move to the South. Tactics of the 1940s found success in the 1960s with leaders such as Randolph and Bayard Rustin who spanned both eras.

Television provided a national audience for the struggles and goals of black Americans in the 1960s. Unlike the fragmented press of the 1940s, "black and white" television had a totally different meaning. Once television coverage of the Southern civil rights movement began, the same pictures and sound went into every house and business that had a television set. As television became the dominant news medium with only three national networks with the same general orientation, the country experienced an unprecedented opportunity to share sights and sounds, the assassination of a president or water hoses and police dogs in Birmingham.

Lack of recognition for the existence of the civil rights movement prior to 1954 minimizes the efforts of those who achieved early victories in the North, Midwest, and West and ignores the general problems of new coverage of racial issues in the country. Framing of the civil rights movement between 1955 and 1965 as a "revolution" may have provided tactical advantages for leaders of the effort and allowed passage of civil rights legislation, but the framing fails to stand the test of historical scrutiny.

Gunnar Myrdal effectively characterized the problems that result when one segment of a population does not know or understand another segment of the population despite the availability of communication resources. After decades of a national television medium, such fragmentation again may seem unlikely, but increasing media diversity and use of interactive technologies may exacerbate social differences already in place. Social movements will have increased communication capabilities for internal cohesion with new communication technologies. Although equal access to these technologies already is a question under consideration, the greater question may be whether these technologies will increase social distances to the extent that social disorder will result.

Notes

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[3] August Meier and Elliot Rudwick, CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement 1942-1968 (New York: Oxford UP, 1973) 102.

[4] Henry Lee Moon, "Beyond Objectivity: The 'Fighting' Press," Race and the News Media, ed. Paul L. Fisher and Ralph L. Lowenstein (Columbia, MO: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1967) 136.

[5] Poppy Cannon, letter to A. Philip Randolph, 23 Aug. 1974, Papers of A. Philip Randolph (Bethesda: University Publications of America, 1990).

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[13] Jerome Davis 3.

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[15] Herbert Blumer, "Collective Behavior," Principles of Sociology, ed. Alfred McClung Lee, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper, 1969) 99.

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[18] Blumer 114.

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[21] Blumer 102.

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[25] William Gamson, The Strategy of Social Protest (Homewood, IL: Dorsey, 1975) 5.

[26] Blumer 99.

[27] Tarrow 10.

[28] Jerome Davis 3.

[29] Blumer 96.

[30] Blumer 112.

[31] Wolfsfeld 19.

[32] Harvey Molotch, "Media and Movements," The Dynamics of Social Movements: Resource Mobilization, Social Control, and Tactics, ed. Mayer N. Zald and John D. McCarthy (Cambridge, MA: Winthrop, 1977) 71.

[33] Molotch 91.

[34] Melvin DeFleur and Sandra Ball-Rokeach, Theories of Mass Communication (New York: McKay, 1989) 311-21.

[35] William A. Gamson and Gadi Wolfsfeld, "Movements and Media as Interacting Systems," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science 258 (July 1993) 117-18.

[36] Gamson and Wolfsfeld 115-16.

[37] Gamson and Wolfsfeld 118-19.

[38] Gamson and Wolfsfeld 120.

[39] William Drummond, "Blacks and the News Media: From Alliance to Alienation," *Current* Jan. 1991: 5.

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[42] *See also* Jack Lyle, ed., The Black American and the Press, Los Angeles: Ritchie Press, 1968; and Carolyn Martindale, The White Press and Black America, New York: Greenwood Press, 1986.

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[63] A. Philip Randolph, "Demonstration for Democracy," *Chicago Defender* 1 Feb. 1941, 14. (Randolph's initial call was for 10,000 marchers.)

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[70] *See* Sitkoff and Weiss.

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REFORM ALLIES:
THE TEMPERANCE AND PROHIBITION PRESS AND WOMAN SUFFRAGE
WISCONSIN, 1910-20

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Abstract

Both the temperance and prohibition movements endorsed woman suffrage in the belief that women's votes would bring about prohibition. This paper examines how four temperance and prohibition publications in Wisconsin covered suffrage during the last decade of both movements. It finds that stories originating in the suffrage press were often manipulated by these publications to reiterate their contention that suffrage was necessary to bring about prohibition and that the liquor industry's very opposition to suffrage proved the industry was "evil" and should be obliterated. Although publication of these suffrage stories in the prohibition press exposed suffrage arguments to attack from critics, especially from the liquor industry, it also exposed the suffrage issue to wider audiences. Because these stories appeared in a number of publications other than suffrage publications, they may have acquired a certain legitimacy they would not have otherwise enjoyed. Finally, the fact that the same stories often appeared simultaneously in a variety of publications may have suggested to the public and politicians that suffrage was an issue of importance high on the public agenda.

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> *(E)very greater or smaller reform movement is largely launched, assisted and finally made successful through the medium of the press. In no other way can the public be so fully, so widely and so economically reached, nor can the sentiment of the multitudes be so readily formed and crystallized.*
>
> *-- The Union Signal, Feb.6 1913* [1]

The Temperance and Prohibition Press

Temperance and prohibition organizations, like most social movement organizations of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, heartily believed in the power of the press. Because these groups frequently found general circulation newspapers either indifferent or opposed to specific reforms such as prohibition, and because they often attempted to target a specific audience, they established their own press whenever possible. While some of these publications were ephemeral to the extreme, often lasting less than a year, others survived for decades and claimed large national readerships. Here they could present the issues affecting their reform in great detail, thereby providing their public with information that the general circulation press either overlooked or chose to ignore. In addition, these publications created the basis of a vital communication network whereby reformers were able to establish a sense of community among their members. Finally, temperance and prohibition publications could legitimate the reform group and its efforts to change the dominant social or political structure simply by the way in which they presented it *as a legitimate group.*[2]

Temperance and prohibition publications did not always limit themselves to the strict agenda of promoting their own reforms and, like their parent organizations, often embraced and endorsed the goals of other social movements. One of those that ranked space in temperance publications on a regular basis after the 1880s was woman suffrage. Once suffrage was embraced by the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in 1880, for example, news and debate about the woman's vote was almost always included in the pages of the various WCTU publications. Likewise, the pages of the American Issue, the organ of the Anti-Saloon League (ASL), almost always included articles on suffrage, especially when these could illustrate how prohibition's enemy -- the liquor industry -- was also the implacable enemy of suffrage. Once the ASL endorsed the women's franchise in 1916, the American Issue carried a regular suffrage column giving the latest news on the many campaigns for state and federal amendments.[3]

The articles on suffrage that appeared in the temperance and prohibition press came from a variety of sources. Although some were written by temperance and prohibition workers, many apparently often came from "exchanges," that is from the suffrage and even the general press.[4] Once these stories were printed in temperance and prohibition publications, they were sometimes picked up in the general press and even appeared in publications of the liquor and brewing industry. As a particular story was passed from one venue to another, it might be reprinted verbatim, but just as often it might pick up additional facts and details or might drop others that were either "stale" or inappropriate to a specific audience.

In the case of those stories that appeared in the liquor press, they were often used as the basis for anti-suffrage argument. In this way, pro-suffrage stories that originated in the "controlled" environment of the suffrage press filtered through the largely sympathetic web of temperance and prohibition publications to eventually enter the open and public arena of the general press and the more hostile arena of the liquor press.[5]

Thus suffrage news, rather than being restricted to the relatively small audience of the suffrage press, was diffused to an increasingly larger audience. For suffragists, this diffusion of suffrage stories had advantages as well as disadvantages. One advantage was that by appearing in more publications, suffrage stories would expose larger audiences to the concepts and arguments of votes for women" and thus have a greater possibility of converting those audiences. Another advantage was that if suffrage stories appeared in more publications, the reform itself would appear to be an issue high on the public agenda. This might in turn influence the public to want to know more about suffrage and influence politicians to take it more seriously or reconsider their positions. By keeping votes for women constantly on the agenda, suffragists and their allies might convince the public and politicians alike that the reform was inevitable and therefore convince them to adopt it.

The diffusion of suffrage stories also had a disadvantage, however. Once a story "got away" from the controlled environment of the suffrage press, it might be reworked and manipulated in any number of ways. What might have started out as a very carefully worded story intended to provoke only the most positive of feelings toward the reform, might just as easily be turned around to create exactly the opposite effect. Stories published in the prohibition press might easily provoke opposition from the liquor industry, and stories picked up by the liquor press were often turned around to be used as anti-suffrage arguments.[6]

Although there was never a guarantee that suffragists could control information once they released it to the public through their newspapers and press releases, they might have been more than a little wary about seeing these articles published in the temperance and prohibition press. Just as they were often in a quandary whether to accept assistance from temperance and prohibition organizations, they must also have been of a mixed mind about the support offered by temperance and prohibition publications.

The Temperance and Prohibition Press in Wisconsin

Wisconsin, which for many years was dominated by the brewing industry, was a staunchly anti-prohibition state. Temperance and prohibition organizations, consequently, generally had some difficulty in establishing a solid and consistent membership there.[7] After the Civil War, temperance publications had come and gone, but by 1910, the state had four local publications entirely devoted to temperance and prohibition. These were: the Motor, the monthly organ of the Wisconsin WCTU; the Wisconsin edition of the ASL's American Issue; the Reform, a Norwegian weekly published in Eau Claire that proclaimed itself to be "Devoted to Prohibition, Total Abstinence and General News;" and the Wisconsin Good Templar, a weekly published in Independence. In addition, both the national edition of the American Issue and the national organ of the WCTU, the Union Signal, reached a large audience within the state. Because not all these publications were available for study, only the Motor, the Union Signal, and the national and local editions of the American Issue will be discussed here.

The *Motor*

The local organ of the WCTU, the *Motor*, was established in 1886 as a publication intended to promote both Christianity and temperance. It published articles by prominent local women in female reform and maintained a distinctive evangelical tone. In language that must have echoed the cries of the "Women's Crusade" of 1874, it continued through the 1920s to call on "Almighty God" and the "Prince of Peace" to lead the "white ribboners" to victory against the evil saloons and "liquordom." [8]

Under the editorship of Mrs. M.E.B. Thompson from 1910 to 1916 and Mrs. Eva C. Lewis from 1916 to 1922, the monthly published arguments for prohibition and temperance, responses to anti-prohibition arguments, charges against the "liquor men," and the latest WCTU and prohibition news. It valiantly published stories of prohibition victories, although in these years they were rare in Wisconsin, and the publication often turned to reporting on victories in other states and even other countries.[9] When local victories did occur, the *Motor* tended to make the most of them. Thus, when Republican Congressman John Nelson cast the sole Wisconsin vote for a constitutional amendment in January 1915, the *Motor* praised him in characteristic hyperbole with typical religious overtones:

> **A SPLENDID RECORD**
>
> Is that of Congressman John Nelson, of Madison, for we believe that no question in which high moral principle is involved has come up for action in which he has not stood firmly and bravely on the side of right. To-day he stands again with the great majority -- ("one with God constitutes a majority.") the only representative from the Badger State to thus align himself. [10]

Local stories were more likely to deal with news of members -- their marriages, illnesses, and deaths (which it referred to as "promotions")-- or pleas to the membership to pay up on dues or to get temperance matter into local papers. In this last, the Motor apparently had little success, for in a contest launched by the national WCTU in 1914, the Wisconsin Union had reported placing only 640 columns of temperance material in general circulation newspapers. This perhaps indicates the lack of enthusiasm or energy in WCTU workers in Wisconsin, for by contrast, the winning state, Indiana, had reported placing more than six *million* columns of temperance matter during the same period.[11]

For the rest, the eight-page paper published prayers, poems, proverbs, reprints from the national WCTU's Union Signal, reprints of letters and speeches of national officers, and frequent articles that cited authoritative sources condemning alcohol on both moral and physical grounds. A Professor Lang of Vienna, for example, was quoted as warning that "Parents who are saturated with alcohol poison their children in the germ." And a Dr. Edward Wallace Lee of New York told the New York Medical Association that alcohol consumption by the parents was responsible for a variety of birth defects, including idiocy, in children.[12]

The great majority of the material published in the Motor addressed WCTU business and the liquor question and only occasionally did stories about other issues creep in. The three most common outside issues were prostitution, cigarette smoking, and woman suffrage. Prostitution, usually referred to as the white slave traffic, was frequently linked by the Motor with the saloon and the "vicious interests." The publication frequently blamed the influence of the saloon for young girls' "fall from grace," and frequent exposes led to a legislative investigation of the link between prostitution and the saloons in 1913.[13] Cigarette smoking was also frequently attacked by the Motor, which followed a temperance tradition which had begun as far back as the 1850s.

First, the publication warned that cigarette smoking was a health threat that contributed to "a diseased nervous system" and weak heart. Second, it warned that the smoking habit was a moral threat that prevented youth from "acquiring a healthy intelligence or virile morality."[14]

The issue that was addressed most frequently (after prohibition and temperance), however, was woman suffrage. Here the Motor consistently supported the reform on the grounds that it would, first, allow women to vote for prohibition and, second, allow them to uplift themselves, society, and government. In 1911, even in the face of evidence that prohibition and local option had been consistently defeated in the first four states with suffrage (Wyoming, Utah, Colorado, and Idaho), the publication still argued that women would bring about the reform. And by 1915, when women had the vote in ten states and the liquor and brewing industries in some states such as Illinois began to invite women to join their "personal liberty" organizations as a means of co-opting their newly won elective power, the Motor predicted that women would not be fooled by such subterfuges. Quoting the Rev. Duncan C. Milner in a recent story in the Chicago Tribune, it pointed out that the "proposal to organize women of the country in favor of the saloon and falsely so-called personal liberty comes too late." Women had already shown their desire for prohibition by voting for dry candidates in local elections, and they would begin to do so on the state and national level as well, the story insisted. "With ten states where women have the vote and ten 'near states,' there is hope that national constitutional prohibition of the liquor traffic may be realized in 1920."[15]

The Motor monitored liquor publications and frequently repeated their dire warnings that suffrage was a harbinger to prohibition, almost as proof that the liquor industry was weakening. "Woman suffrage in the State of New York, which is now freely predicted, will, it is greatly feared, place the state in the prohibition column in a few years," Malt, a New York brewers' publication, was reported as saying in one brief article. Another quoted the president of the Wisconsin Liquor Dealers Protective Association who had told Milwaukee papers that woman suffrage would "promote no license." [16]

Many articles sought to show how suffrage, in addition to assisting in the triumph of prohibition, would inject a general element of "good" into the nation and its affairs. "(T)here will be no end to the good that will come by woman's suffrage, on the elected, on elections, on government, and on woman herself," the Motor wrote, quoting Chief Justice White.[17] Above all, the publication frequently pointed out, the fight for suffrage was not to be an end in itself, for its true purpose was to prepare women better for their roles as Christian members of society living full, selfless, and responsible lives. For the WCTU, Christian *duty* was very much a part of voting rights:

> The woman movement is something much deeper and bigger than the granting of the franchise, important as that is as a step on the way. [Woman] is now awakening to a sense that she is a human being every bit as much as a man, with equal responsibility in the sight of God with equal right to use all her powers to their fullest extent -- responsible to God and to Him alone... The new life that has come to her is not to be spent in mere selfishness and self-assertion, but in great love, self-sacrifice and service for down-trodden womanhood throughout the world. [18]

The Union Signal

Whereas the monthly Motor nearly always printed general, undated material that rarely had a modern "news" sense about it, the national WCTU weekly, the Union Signal, had a much more immediate and vital air about it. Established in 1883, the publication was vaunted by the WCTU to be the most distinctive and influential of temperance publications. "As a purveyor of temperance news -- late news, live news -- and as an aid in prohibition campaigns it is without peer," wrote former editor Clara C. Chapin in 1912. "The most progressive temperance thought, and that thought translated into action -- that is what we find chronicled in The Union Signal."[19]

Although its pages were devoted primarily to temperance and prohibition, under the leadership of Frances Willard, the WCTU's second president, the Signal had opened its pages to several other causes, including welfare reform, women's labor issues, health reform, and woman suffrage. With sometimes as many as sixteen pages per weekly issue, the national publication had ample room to publish frequent stories and news items about the individual states and it is ironic that the Signal often carried more newsworthy items about Wisconsin than the struggling Motor did. These articles were usually submitted by officers of the Wisconsin Union, including state president Mrs. W.A. Lawson, Motor editor Mrs. M.E.B. Thompson, and Superintendent of the Franchise Maria F. Hanchette, and were often apparently picked up from the general press.[20]

The suffrage movement in Wisconsin received considerable attention from 1911 to 1912 when it waged a heated referendum campaign.[21] The WCTU held its national convention in Milwaukee in November 1911 and adopted woman suffrage as its theme. Reported fully in the Signal, the program included addresses from Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Association (WWSA) President Olympia Brown, the county chairman of the Prohibition Party, the state superintendent of the ASL, and a number of WCTU officers, all of whom spoke in support of suffrage. Brown, who did not seem perturbed by the misgivings some Wisconsin suffragists had in linking themselves to the prohibition cause, welcomed the WCTU as sisters in a great crusade who faced the same kind of opposition as suffragists. The former Congregational pastor revealed some of her religious and evangelical preparation in the tone and rhetoric of her address: "You come to us at a time when we are in the throes of a great upheaval," she told the convention. "Mighty forces are working together to break the old fetters, to tear down the old prejudices and to set the women of Wisconsin free and to make our great state a true Republic in which there shall be neither bond nor free, neither male nor female, but all shall be one in Christ Jesus Our Lord." [22]

This show of confidence was typical of Brown, who always put on a display of great strength and conviction, especially when the battle was most difficult.[23] The president of the WCTU, Mrs. W.A. Lawson, did not show the same confidence in the power of these "mighty forces," but apparently had great faith in the power of prayer. She praised 1911 as the year in which the state had taken one step forward to "give the women, for eighteen months, the privilege of getting down on their knees to the men of Wisconsin to beg permission to cast the ballot because they have the right to cast the ballot!"[24]

Another speaker at the convention was Mrs. Lulu Shepard, the president of the Utah WCTU, who during the next year offered to work for the suffrage campaign. Shepard's address illustrates just how the WCTU was able to so successfully link the radical reform of female suffrage to the conservative values of the middle class, just as some suffrage activists had begun to do. She accomplished this beautifully (and perhaps a bit coyly), telling her audience that while she believed woman's greatest power lay in the home and that for this reason she might not be considered an "up-to-date" suffragist, she still believed that "I have a God-given right, as a thinking human being, not as a female, to say what laws shall be made that affect my Nation, my home, and my child."[25]

The theme of woman as the guardian of the hearth was evoked once again in the address of Frances H. Ensign, the president of the Ohio WCTU. Ensign methodically listed the reasons why women needed the vote: to promote decent and safe working conditions for women, who had been forced by changing economic conditions from the protective "woman's sphere" of the home; to promote equal pay so that women would not be exploited in the work place; to outlaw child labor and sweat shops; and to defeat the white slave traffic and the double standard of morals that endangered the well-being of the family. Most important, they needed it to defeat the liquor industry, the "home's worst foe." Here, Ensign was sure women would not falter:

> "The sex which forms three-fifths of our Church membership and less than one--hundredth per cent of the saloon's patrons -- the sex which is the greatest sufferer from the drink evil, can be depended on to vote against the home's worst foe. In the five states where women have voted, even though they are in a minority, they have been a potent factor in securing advanced temperance laws.[26]

The Union Signal published regular reports on the ensuing campaign and apparently some of this coverage succeeded in arousing widespread national WCTU support, for in May 1912, the locall superintendent of the franchise reported that twenty-one WCTU speakers had volunteered to come to Wisconsin from all parts of the country.[27] The state's annual convention in November of that year, which chose "Votes for Women" as its theme, reported a "spirit of optimism" and great activity in the suffrage campaign.[28]

When the suffrage referendum was defeated in November and when the governor vetoed a bill for a second referendum in 1913, the WCTU lay the cause of the defeat squarely at the feet of the liquor industry. "Wherever a woman suffrage measure has failed to pass, it has been because of the determined fight of the men who make their living from the manufacture and sale of drink," the Signal editorialized in July 1913 after the governor's veto of the Wisconsin referendum bill. "(T)he splendid way in which the women of [states with suffrage] are measuring up to their privilege, in recalling corrupt officials, electing good ones, and in voting out the saloons, is making the liquor interests implacable enemies of woman suffrage."[29]

The link between the WCTU and suffrage is illustrated clearly in the fact that not only did the Signal report on its own conventions that endorsed suffrage, it also reported on woman suffrage conventions. In December 1912, for example, it printed several pages of stories on the annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association in Philadelphia. Here it emphasized every comment any suffragist made about the opposition of the liquor industry and set the theme in the second deck of its headline, "Liquor Interests Declared to be Worst Enemy of Cause." The lead story quoted Anna Howard Shaw, president of the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA), who declared "It is infinitely better for the government that the caucus be held around the family-altar than at the corner grocery or saloon," a sentiment that neatly fit in with the WCTU's conservative, home-centered approach to the ballot. And when suffrage leader Julia Lathrop announced that "Not so-called anti-suffragists, but the liquor interests are the worst opponents of woman suffrage," her view clearly agreed with the WCTU position that the liquor industry was the cause of most of society's evils and injustices. Although this was a time that many suffragists were attempting to disassociate suffrage from prohibition reform, the Signal was instead trying to underline the connection, no matter how tenuous. Thus, the lead article concluded, "no opportunity was lost" by Shaw "to say a word for the temperance cause" and a "pronounced temperance sentiment" was evident in all the convention's meetings. And just in case anyone missed the point, an editorial in the same edition pointed out the convention's opposition to the "trade" and defied the liquor interests to continue to claim that woman's vote would help rather than hinder the liquor traffic.[30]

Like other publications of the time, the Signal readily used material originated elsewhere, either through exchanges, plate matter, or clipping services. One publication frequently credited in its stories was the Woman's Journal, NAWSA's national organ. The Signal apparently received engraved plates from the suffrage publication, for on several occasions it published "suffrage maps" showing the status of the reform in each of the states, as well as articles that were identical to stories that appeared in the Journal.[31] Very often it carried these stories verbatim, while at other times it used brief quotes from the Journal in an article as if to add newsworthiness or authority to its own story. In April 1913, for example, the Signal quoted almost word for word a Journal story that offered evidence of the financial connection between the Michigan Liquor Dealers' Association and the Michigan Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage. Newspapers in the area had received an anti-suffrage flier, "An Appeal to Men," from the Michigan anti-suffrage society, the Journal reported. But also enclosed in the envelope had been a letter from the secretary of the Liquor Dealers' Association with a copy of a liquor ad he wanted to run in state newspapers. When this missive arrived at the business office of a suffrage publication, chortled the Journal, "the secret was out! Collusion of antis with the liquor interests was proved beyond peradventure."[32]

The Union Signal also closely monitored general interest publications through its clipping services and press bureaus both for editorial material and to keep abreast of events that might effect the reforms it promoted. It quoted freely from these newspapers and magazines, almost as if using the combined "power of the press" to legitimate its own position. In 1911, after the Signal launched a campaign against advertising liquor and cigarettes in newspapers and magazines, it reported any breakthrough in the campaign as a victory in its own cause. When, for example Everybody's Magazine banned whiskey and cigarette advertising and the Chicago American banned whiskey advertisements, the Signal reprinted their editorials explaining why they had made those decisions. "The American knows that whiskey destroys homes and ruins men and women... Advertising whiskey must increase its use or advertisers would not be eager to advertise it," the American wrote in its editorial. It had found itself in the position of promoting the product in its advertising columns and advising its readers to shun it in its editorial columns and had come to the conclusion that it could no longer continue what was "not a proper position for an honest newspaper."[33] The Signal also quoted other newspapers amply on the progress of woman suffrage. "'Woman's suffrage is the latest occasion for alarm to the liquor dealers of Michigan's largest city,' says the Detroit News," it wrote during that state's 1912 campaign for a suffrage amendment. And when the amendment was defeated in Michigan, the Signal quoted a New York Times story that reported the state's Brewers'

Association had offered cash prizes to "saloon men upstate for increasing the anti-suffrage vote in their counties."[34]

This relationship went two ways, and the general press occasionally picked up stories from the *Signal* or other WCTU publications. Until 1911, however, this was not accomplished by any concerted effort from the WCTU but instead was done entirely at the discretion of the individual newspaper editor who might clip an article from a WCTU publication on his own incentive or receive a story from a local WCTU chapter. In 1911, "realizing the tremendous power of the press as an educator" and the need of "more widely utilizing the newspapers as prohibition sentiment makers," the Union followed the example of the NAWSA and the ASL and established a press bureau. In addition to setting up a regular process for creating and disseminating press releases, the bureau started supplying a regular column to the Western Newspaper Union, a "ready-print" service that supplied patent insides and stereotype plates to about seven thousand weekly and ten thousand daily papers in the country. This step was a sign both of the WCTU's readiness to adopt new technologies and its awareness of the increased competition to provide material to the general press in a convenient and usable format.[35]

The American Issue

What the *Union Signal* was for the women's temperance movement, the *American Issue* became for the national prohibition movement. Begun in 1896 as the publication of the Ohio Anti-Saloon League, the *American Issue* soon appeared as a national publication and became the official organ of the Anti-Saloon League of America in 1908. By 1910, under the editorship of Ernest H. Cherrington, it had thirty separate state editions, and by 1917 when the Anti-Saloon League was nearing the height of its power, it claimed a weekly circulation of 250,000.[36]

The main purposes of the American Issue was to recruit and maintain interest in the temperance cause, to exhort members to campaign for prohibition, and to put pressure on politicians to propose and support prohibitory legislation. Because the ASL aimed to remain a single-issue organization, it restricted its articles primarily to the discussion of issues that related directly to prohibition. The American Issue revealed its tie to the Church in the evangelical tone of many of its articles, although this was generally not as pronounced as in the publications of the WCTU. Arguments were, therefore, at first moral -- liquor was the cause of the downfall of individuals, the destruction of the home, the victimization of women and children, and, ultimately, the weakening of the nation -- and only afterward pragmatic, that is, more focused on strategy. Frequent targets of attack in both news and editorial columns were immigrants, corrupt politicians bribed by the liquor industry to block prohibition legislation, and the brewers, who, as the war progressed, were painted as traitors and cohorts of the Kaiser. After the United States entered the war, the alleged tie between the Kaiser and the brewers served as a useful tool in completely delegitimizing the liquor industry.[37]

While the American Issue was a national publication, it addressed local audiences in two ways. First, it published a number of state editions sporadically over the years. Second, it published regular columns that featured brief synopses of the prohibition situation in the various states. Written by the local superintendents in each state, these state roundups brought local readers up to date on the local prohibition picture, and gave readers from other states an understanding of the battle they were facing. In Wisconsin, which was generally considered a "lost cause" by most prohibitionists, the battle was particularly difficult and that was illustrated clearly by most of the stories about the state. In 1911, for example, the American Issue reported that only fourteen of the state's seventy-one counties were dry, and even those did not represent a prohibition victory. All fourteen counties were located in the northern part of Wisconsin, Indian reservation land where liquor was forbidden not because of prohibition sentiment but because of the terms of the United States Indian treaty governing the region. In 1913, a story reported gleefully that six hundred of the "grogshops" in Milwaukee were going to have to shut down because of a recent Wisconsin law limiting liquor licenses to one to every 250 inhabitants. But that still left the League 1,600 more to shut down, since Milwaukee at that time had 2,224 saloons for its population of 383,000 people.[38]

In 1915, Wisconsin state superintendent John McDonald wrote an article in which he reported the dismal voting record of Wisconsin legislators on temperance and reform measures (including suffrage). In an editorial on McDonald's story, the American Issue quoted a Wisconsin State Journal editorial that had charged the legislature with being "owned and controlled by the liquor interests" and proceeded to give the details of legislators who had been approached by the brewing companies in Milwaukee. "We advise our friends, therefore," the American Issue wrote, "that they read carefully the list of names published in McDonald's article and learn just where the men who represent them in the state legislature are to be found."[39]

In what probably became its ugliest line of attack on the liquor industry, the American Issue took every advantage of the sentiments aroused by the war in Europe to evoke the image of liquor dealers and saloonkeepers as un-American, anti-American, vulgar, and ignorant. In a regrettable story, "Hyphenated Americans on the Rampage," the ASL "exposed" the true motives of a Milwaukee assemblyman named Sezwezykowski who had introduced a bill that would place the regulation of saloons under a governor-appointed state excise commission. The ASL accused Sezwezykowski, who had introduced the same bill proposed six years earlier by a "Senator Klezcka of the same city," of being in league with the saloons. "It is a favorite pastime just about these times for liquor sympathizers to embark on all sorts of cleanupsky proposals," the article charges, "but the people, long suffering, seem more generally disposed to dumpsky the whole outfitsky into the bottomless pitsky where the wormovich diesky not and the fire is not szsquenzked."[40] Once America entered into the war, this brand of prohibition argument became particularly venomous:

> Beer is the Kaiser's mightiest ally and it fights on American soil. It hinders American victory, delays world peace and may pave the way for American defeat and the overthrow of democracy... THE GERMAN BREWERS' MUGMARINE SINKS IN THE FOAMING BREW MORE FOOD THAN THE GERMAN KAISER'S SUBMARINE SINKS IN THE FOAMING BRINE... PRO-GERMANISM is only the froth from the German beer saloon. Our German Socialist party and the German-American Alliance are the spawn of the saloon. Kaiser kultur was raised on beer. The German beer garden is the pacifist temple. The bar-rail is the altar rail of treason, the bartender the high priest of dissension and discontent...[41]

A few months later, after statewide spring elections increased the state's dry areas to seventy-five percent of the state and more than forty-four percent of its population, Wisconsin was lauded for "driving out 'the kaiser beer.'" Illustrated by maps showing dry territories before and after the election, the story announced "Disloyalty and beer are departing together from the state of Wisconsin -- Only bad citizenship of the 'best people' is alone responsible for the fact that the state is not all dry and all loyal." The story came on the heels of revelations of a United States Senate subcommittee investigation of the United States

Brewers Association and the German-American Alliance, and the ASL was quick to make the connection with the local German population.[42]

Because the goals of the ASL and the WCTU were so closely linked, even during its early years, the American Issue frequently published articles from and about the WCTU on its battle for temperance and prohibition. The ASL publication gradually came to include stories about some of the reforms espoused by the WCTU, including woman's wages and working hours, divorce laws, child labor legislation, and woman suffrage. After 1910, when the ASL came to support suffrage as a reform that would most likely assist it in its own quest, the American Issue began to publish stories on suffrage even more often. These articles often reported on the progress of suffrage legislation as well as on women's track record in voting for progressive reforms, which, of course, included local option or prohibition. Articles and editorials alike went beyond reporting on suffrage and endorsing suffrage, they also frequently exhorted readers to vote for suffrage in upcoming elections and urged women to vote for prohibition once they won the franchise. The connection between women getting the vote and women then voting for prohibition was often stated explicitly and articles frequently reported on the opposition to suffrage by the liquor interests.[43]

Sometimes the ASL lectured women on the solemn duty they were taking on with the franchise. In 1911, for example, when six states already allowed women to vote, and four more were in the middle of suffrage campaigns, the American Issue wrote that in the suffrage states "it has not only become the privilege or right of women to vote -- it has now become their duty to do so." Along with men, they had become responsible for removing the abuses and corruption in government and, along with the male voter, "every woman of voting age in these states is as responsible for the election of proper officials and the deciding of government policies at the ballot box as any male citizen has heretofore been." When reforms were adopted in suffrage states, it invariably credited these victories to the women voters. In a 1911 editorial, for example, it itemized more than a dozen progressive measures passed in the four suffrage states ranging from a progressive child labor law in Colorado to a pure food measure in Idaho to a "white slave" law in Utah. "The enemies of woman's suffrage have insisted that the ballot in the hands of the women would mean the passage of all kinds of freak laws by legislators who would be influenced by the whims of the fair sex," the American Issue wrote. "The record of the legislatures of 1911 in these states where suffrage has become a reality, will not serve as very convincing arguments in the hands of those who are so interested in the effort to oppose the extension of suffrage to women."[44]

When suffrage campaigns triumphed, the American Issue triumphed with them. "The Women are coming into their own... Let them come... (W)ho shall gainsay the right of women to a voice in the laws under which she must live and rear her children, or a voice in the disposition of the money which she pays in taxes?" it wrote after the suffrage victories of Arizona and Kansas in the 1912 election. "Newly enfranchised Voters Will Help Make Illinois Dry," it predicted after women won that state in 1913. And when women voted for prohibition, the ASL urged more states to give women the vote. After the majority of Illinois women voted dry in 1914 (the majority of men voted wet) the American Issue was full of praise for the woman's vote. "Our readers can well imagine what would be the attitude of women's votes in Indiana on this question if this ballot were given them," it wrote. "One of the strong reasons why a constitutional convention should be called in this state is because [it] would undoubtedly give to woman the ballot. Woman with the ballot in her hands would soon drive the saloons from our commonwealth..."[45]

The ASL kept count of the states as they adopted woman suffrage and continued to link them to prohibition victories. In 1914, it wrote that of the five states that had just moved into the prohibition column, four (Colorado, Oregon, Washington, and Arizona) were suffrage states. Later in that year, it reported that twelve states had adopted suffrage and analyzed the voting records of each on the prohibition question. When the American Issue began to publish "suffrage maps" provided by the Woman's Journal that showed the gradual spread of suffrage through the states, it became apparent that the ASL was behind the reform 100 percent.[46]

Not only had the ASL been won over to the suffrage cause, the League, which until now had primarily been a man's organization that aimed to influence male voters to put pressure on male legislators, began to recognize that women were also potential constituents. It realized, just as the Illinois "Liberty League" had after women got the vote in that state, that women who could vote and even run for office could be enlisted as useful allies. It was perhaps with this in mind that, when the American Issue became a weekly in March 1915, it established a regular woman's page.

"Of Interest to Women" was a direct departure from the policy the ASL had hitherto followed of restricting itself to issues relating at least indirectly to prohibition and the "liquor problem." This page carried not only stories on the suffrage movement and women in the prohibition movement, but also a variety of topics from the Women's Peace Party to the women's club movement to women in the professions. Amazingly enough, a column, "What

Shall We Have For Dinner," with menus and recipes also appeared here on occasion. In its first edition, for example, the page included a story relating the progress of suffrage legislation in nine states, a story on a Birmingham, Alabama woman who was the "first woman in the world to operate a jitney bus," and a recipe for baked stuffed heart. These stories were often reprinted from a variety of publications and may well have originated as a patent inside or plate of the sort prepared by the Western Newspaper Union, which the ASL was using at this time to disseminate its own columns on prohibition.[47]

The women's page occasionally carried pro-suffrage cartoons, and in August 1915 it reproduced a cartoon from the Philadelphia North American, "Melting," that showed an anti-suffragist woman collapsed and perspiring on a chair under a strong sun labelled "suffrage sentiment." Another cartoon, courtesy of the Boston American, showed a woman in the stocks, with two large locks labelled "prejudice" and "injustice" keeping her immobilized. "Set Her Free," the cartoon evoked the reader. Still another, courtesy of the New York World showed four men sitting at a bar room table, cigars clamped in their teeth and beer glasses clutched in their hands. On the table lies a newspaper with the headline "Woman Suffrage Defeated in New Jersey," The boss is telling the other three, "Well boys, we saved the home." And evoking the theme of the mother as the central force of the home was a Briggs cartoon that had appeared in the Chicago Tribune. It showed a child holding up a ballot box marked "For Suffrage" and telling his father "A vote for mother is a vote for a better world for me, Dad."[48]

"Of Interest to Women" also published ditties and poems, some of them aimed at the antis and anti arguments. One of them, "Poor Dad," from the humor magazine Judge expertly catches the absurdity of the anti argument that women didn't need the vote because their fathers and husbands (or sons or brothers) could vote for them.

> Grandma's a Prohibitionist,
> A Socialist is Nan,
> Mother's Progressive through and through,
> Sue's a Republican.
> So the antis talk makes father mad
> 'Twould be rather hard on poor, old Dad,
> To express these views with one ballot small,
> Since he's a Democrat and hates them all.[49]

Woman's changing status was never so clearly or cleverly expressed as in an article taken from the Chicago *Herald*, "Chivalry for Suffragists," in which the *Herald* wrote that women, specifically suffrage lobbyists, were living in a new age of chivalry in which they were being courted "with an assiduity by the politically rich and the great which would have brought envy to the eyes of a medieval princess." Women who only three or four years before had been "treated almost as common pests by the bland politicians" and who had been able to obtain a hearing only after weeks of scheming now had senators and campaign managers "falling over each other in an effort to show their appreciation of the woman voters." Justice was poetic, and the shoe was on the other foot, the article concluded satirically. "The politician is just as anxious to obtain the support of the enfranchised women as the suffragists were a brief while back to secure the pledge of the influential leader. Current events will have their little joke...."[50]

The women's department continued for two years until January 1917, when the *American Issue* merged with two other AIPC publications, the *American Patriot* and the *National Daily*, and changed its appearance from a two-column magazine format to that of a standard six-column newspaper format. The woman's page disappeared, along with its recipes and poems, but stories on woman suffrage, its opposition by the liquor industry, and women's votes for prohibition continued to receive prominent display.

In November 1917, after the success of the New York state "Empire Campaign" seemed to signal the sure success of suffrage on the national scene, the *rapprochement* between suffrage and prohibition forces seemed complete. The American Issue announced on its front page that Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the NAWSA, had agreed to speak at the League's national convention. This was a startling decision on the part of Catt, who had always warned suffragists against openly aligning themselves with the prohibitionists for fear of provoking opposition from the liquor industry. With the taste of the New York victory fresh in her mouth, she must have felt sure enough of the imminent defeat of her old opponents to be willing to stand at the prohibition podium to help drive the last nail home. The invitation was also an abrupt departure from the ASL's traditional stance as a single-issue organization. The publication attempted to explain this seeming reversal:

> While the League as an organization can give itself to but one line of activity -- temperance reform, it cannot be blind to the fact that almost without exception the liquor men are fighting suffrage, while again, almost without exception, those who favor Prohibition also favor woman's suffrage. It is conceded by wets and drys alike that the ballot in the hands of women is dangerous to the peace and security of the traffic in intoxicants. [51]

Conclusions

And so the strophe and the antistrophe between suffrage and prohibition continued for the duration of the prohibition and suffrage campaigns. Whether or not woman suffrage leaders were happy with the publicity their cause received through the publication of suffrage stories in the pages of the WCTU's Motor and Union Signal and the ASL's American Issue, the circulation of those stories was beyond their control. Eventually the suffrage leaders and publications began to adopt some of the arguments used by the prohibitionists and began to construct their own articles and press releases around prohibition stories. In the end, with the mounting sense that both reforms were approaching victory, perhaps it seemed inevitable that the two should be linked.

Suffragists, prohibitionists, and some editors of the general circulation press as well, all found a common ground in stories such as those that reported attempts by the liquor industry to cripple suffrage campaigns and in cartoons such as the one of the child offering his father the ballot box to "vote for mother." These stories and images evoked common responses to what had been cast as the epic conflict between the forces of good and evil, the home and the outside world. The inherent drama of the situation was almost irresistible to any editor, especially those imbued with the progressive spirit of reform.

NOTES

1."The WCTU Press: Its Influence in Forming Public Sentiment," The Union Signal, Feb. 6, 1913.

2.See for example: Jean Folkerts, "Functions of the Reform Press," in Jean Folkerts (ed.) Media Voices: An Historical Perspective (New York: Macmillan, 1992), 207; Linda Steiner, "Finding Community in Nineteenth Century Suffrage Periodicals," American Journalism 1 (Summer 1983), 1.

3.Union Signal, 1910-1919, passim; American Issue, 1910-1919, passim.

4.Mrs. M.E.B. Thompson, editor of the Wisconsin WCTU's The Motor, for example, received the Wisconsin Citizen (the Wisconsin suffrage organ) and the Woman's Journal (the largest national suffrage publication) in exchange for the Motor. M.E.B. Thompson to Helen Haight, July 20, 1915, WWSA Papers, box 7, folder 5.

5.This was a two-way flow of information, for both the suffrage and temperance press also used material appearing in the brewers' and liquor press for organizational purposes as well as for propaganda. For more discussion of this, see Elizabeth V. Burt, "An Arena For Debate: Woman Suffrage, the Brewing Industry, and the Press, Wisconsin, 1910-1919," Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1994, 296-343.

6.Burt, ibid.

7.Wisconsin Blue Book: 1915 (Madison: State of Wisconsin Publishing Company, 1915), 44; Robert C. Nesbit, Wisconsin: A History, 2d ed. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1973), 356. In 1910 brewing was Wisconsin's fifth largest industry. In addition to opposition of prohibition from the brewer's, the state's large German population also generally opposed prohibition. For discussion of the temperance and prohibition movement in Wisconsin, see Burt, "An Arena for Debate," 176-212.

8.The Motor, passim. In 1874 bands of women organized to march, sing, and pray to shut down saloons and convince men to embrace temperance. Although the "women's crusade" is commonly believed to have begun in Hillsboro Ohio, Wisconsin women began to crusade in several Wisconsin communities nearly a year earlier. The "crusade" led to the organization of the WCTU in November 1874 in Cleveland. Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle, rev. ed. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1975), 186; Genevieve G. McBride, On Wisconsin Women, (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993), 60-67.

9."Prohibition States," The Motor, January 1915; "Success in Ontario," The Motor, February 1916.

10."A Splendid Record," The Motor, January 1915.

11."Your Press Superintendent Begs All," The Motor, February 1915. Apparently members complained of a lack of local news, for in the May 1915 Motor, Thompson called on the membership to submit news items, chiding "Don't complain that there is little state news if you have failed to do your part in reporting."

12. The Motor, 1910-1919, passim; "Prof. Lang," The Motor, April 1915; "Alcohol the Greatest Curse of Idiocy," The Motor, April 1915.

13.Paul Haas, "Sin in Wisconsin: The Teasdale Vice Commission of 1913," Wisconsin Magazine of History 49 (Winter 1965-1966), 150. The investigation resulted in a report published in 1914 that became a weapon in the hands of the national Anti-Saloon League for the remainder of the prohibition battle.

14.See for example "I Must Cut Out Cigarets," The Motor, July 1915; "Statement of the Wisconsin Surgeon General," The Motor, April 1915. Poor health from cigarette smoking was blamed for youths being rejected by the Army and high school and college athletic teams.

15."Woman Suffrage and Prohibition," The Motor, January 1911; "Women and the Ballot," The Motor, January 1915. The Illinois Liquor Dealer's Protective Association and the Illinois Brewers Association established the "United Societies," a personal liberty league devoted mainly to the defeat or repeal of prohibitory measures. While both organizations had vehemently opposed suffrage, once women got the vote in 1913, they began to woo them to win support for the anti-prohibition battle. Personal liberty leagues generally urged self-imposed abstinence or temperance and argued that the government was depriving citizens of their fundamental rights when it imposed laws such as prohibition or local option laws.

16."What the Brewers Believe," The Motor, July 1915.

17."Chief Justice White," The Motor, January 1915.

18."The Woman Movement" (Extracts from an article by Mrs. Hugh Price Hughes, Head of the Sisterhood of the West London Mission, England, in The Christian Advocate), The Motor, April 1915.

19."The Union Signal -- News Purveyor and Prophet," Union Signal, Feb.1, 1912.

20.The Union Signal was established in 1883 after the merger of the Signal, the local Illinois WCTU paper, and Our Union, the national WCTU publication. Frances Willard assumed the presidency in 1880 and expanded the Union's "temperance only" platform to endorse he "do everything" policy. The "Superintendent of the Franchise" organized activities aimed at advancing woman suffrage.

21.For an excellent review of the 1912 suffrage movement in Wisconsin, see: Marilyn Grant, "The 1912 Suffrage Referendum: An Exercise in Political Action," Wisconsin Magazine of History 64 (Winter 1980-1981) 107-118; Lawrence L. Graves, "Two Noteworthy Women: Mrs. Ben Hooper and Ada James," Wisconsin Magazine of History, 41 (Spring 1958): 174-180; Genevieve, McBride, "Theodora Winton Youmans and the Wisconsin Woman Movement," Wisconsin Magazine of History 71 (Summer 1988): 242-275. For a complete picture of the suffrage movement in Wisconsin, see: Lawrence L. Graves, "The Wisconsin Woman Suffrage Movement, 1846-1920," Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1954.

22."Woman's Suffrage Association," Union Signal, Nov. 9, 1911. Brown had been a member of the Wisconsin WCTU for years, had been the superintendent of the franchise from 1907 to 1909, and had contributed articles to the Motor. Graves, "Wisconsin Movement," 96-97. At this time some Wisconsin suffragists were attempting to downplay their connection to prohibition because they feared it aroused opposition from the brewing and liquor industries.

23.Charles Neu, "Olympia Brown and the Woman's Suffrage Movement," Wisconsin Magazine of History, 43 (Summer 1960), 283-85.

24."Wisconsin WCTU," Union Signal, Nov. 9, 1911.

25."Why I Like Citizenship," Union Signal, Nov. 30, 1911. Shepard toured the country as an advocate for suffrage and in 1915 was praised as a "silver-tongued orator" by a Pennsylvania newspaper. She had several speaking engagements in Wisconsin in spring 1916. "Silver-Tongued Woman of the Rocky Mountains Pleads for Woman Suffrage," the Motor, February 1916.

26."The Advantages of Woman's Ballot," The Union Signal, Nov. 30, 1911.

27."The Battle for the Ballot," the Union Signal, May 30, 1912.

28."'Votes for Women'" Dominant Note of Wisconsin Convention," Union Signal, Oct. 31, 1912.

29."Complimented on Their Enemies," Union Signal, July 10, 1913.

30."National Suffrage Convention," Union Signal, Dec. 5, 1912; "Woman Suffrage and the Liquor Business," Union Signal, Dec. 5, 1912. Since one of the arguments for suffrage (usually argued by the WCTU) was that it would outlaw alcohol, the liquor industry had begun to respond with statistics showing that in the states with suffrage, prohibition was consistently defeated. Therefore, even while opposing suffrage privately, the industry argued publicly that it had no reason to oppose woman's vote since it proved to be more of a help than a hindrance.

31.See, for example, "Equal Suffrage in the United States," May 30, 1912. These suffrage maps appeared in other suffrage publications as well as the Anti-Saloon League's American Issue and in the general press.

32."How the Liquor Interests helped Defeat Woman Suffrage in Michigan," Union Signal, April 24, 1913. Associations opposed to woman suffrage always insisted that they were independently funded by their memberships and that they had nothing to do with the liquor interests. Suffragists almost always claimed that these associations, many of which existed only for the duration of a particular suffrage campaign, were backed by the liquor and brewing industries.

33."Why Everybody's Magazine Declines Whisky and Cigaret Advertising," Union Signal, Dec. 7, 1911; "Chicago Paper's Declaration of Independence," Union Signal, Feb. 6, 1912.

34."Liquor Men Organize to Fight Suffrage," Union Signal, Aug. 1, 1912; "Suffrage Temporarily Defeated by Liquordom," Signal, April 17, 1913.

35."National WCTU Press Bureau," Union Signal, May 23, 1912. Steroetype plates were metal plates imprinted with the stories, articles, photos, or illustrations to be circulated. Organizations such as the WCTU provided the copy to a plate service, which prepared the plates for a fee and then distributed them to newspapers, often free of charge. When received at a newspaper, each item could be inserted anywhere on the master plate that would print a complete page of newsprint. Patent insides, instead, provided the printed inside two pages of a four page insert, and included articles, advertisements, and opinion columns. Once again, organizations such as the WCTU provided the copy to a service, which then printed the material and sent it to interested publishers, usually small town and "country" newspapers. The newspapers would then print their own material on the "outside" two pages. Services such as those provided by the Western Newspaper Union and the American Press Association became widely used by reform organizations during this period. The NAWSA started using a plate service at about this time, as did the ASL and, eventually, the WWSA. Ironically, however, opponents to suffrage and prohibition also discovered the benefits of plate matter, and anti-suffrage organizations, as well as the United States Brewers Association were soon using it regularly.

36."Million a Month," American Issue, Aug. 25, 1917. For an excellent study of the ASL, see K. Austin Kerr, Organized for Prohibition, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

37.American Issue, passim. The distinction between "news" and "editorial" columns in an advocacy periodical like the American Issue is perhaps an oxymoron, for everything it published was intended to sway opinion. The expectation that publications like the American Issue, the Union Signal, and the Woman's Journal would publish the "unbiased truth" was probably not as rigid as it might have been for the general press. Much as in the case of the early party press, the general public would expect the advocacy press to have a specific viewpoint and agenda.

38."In Wisconsin, Too," American Issue, January 1911; "Woe in Milwaukee," American Issue, September 1913.

39."The Wisconsin Legislature," American Issue, Published for the Wisconsin Anti-Saloon League, May 1915.

40."Hyphenated Americans on the Rampage," American Issue, March 10, 1917.

41."Wisconsin," American Issue, Feb. 16, 1918.

42."Wisconsin Rapidly Driving Out 'The Kaiser Beer,'" American Issue, July 29, 1918. The hearings also exposed the liquor industry's anti-suffrage and anti-temperance activities and propaganda. See Burt, "An Arena for Debate," 296-342.

43.American Issue, passim.

44."A New Responsibility," American Issue, May 1911; "Is Woman's Suffrage Desirable?" American Issue, July 1911.

45."The Women," American Issue, December 1912; "Newly Enfranchised Voters," American issue, September 1913; "Woman's Suffrage in Illinois," American issue, April 1914.

46."Some Progress!" American Issue, November 1914; "Woman Suffrage in Twelve States," American Issue, December 1914; "Suffrage Territory Continues to Grow," American Issue, January 1913. These maps were also published in the Union Signal.

47."Of Interest to Women," American Issue, March 1915.

48."Melting, American Issue, Aug. 28, 1915; "Set her Free," American Issue, Sept. 25, 1915; "Well Boys," American Issue, Oct. 30, 1915; "A Sufficient Reason," American Issue, Nov. 27, 1915. This same cartoon originated in the New York Tribune and was later printed by the Woman's Journal.

49."Poor Dad," American Issue, March 4, 1916.

50."Chivalry for Suffragists," American Issue, Sept. 23, 1916.

51."Anti-Saloon League Will Attract The Nation's Attention," American Issue, Nov. 3, 1917.

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African-Americans and "Delusive Theories of Equality and Fraternity": The Role of the Press in the Institutionalization of Racial Inequality

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African-Americans and "Delusive Theories of Equality and Fraternity": The Role of the Press in the Institutionalization of Racial Inequality

Abstract

Historical research on the mainstream press has given insufficient consideration to press treatment of minority groups such as African-Americans.

During Reconstruction, as black and white Americans attempted to establish new social, political, legal and economic relations, how the press reported on and treated black Americans likely influenced the racial values and attitudes of white Americans.

Nine leading newspapers -- four in the North, two in border states and three in the South -- were examined for views about African-American civil rights in coverage of three post-Civil War amendments, passed in an attempt to guarantee black Americans the full privileges of American citizenship.

The findings suggest that the diminishing concern for African-American rights reflected in the Northern papers, coupled with the increasingly omnipresent view in border and Southern papers that black Americans were not worthy of equal rights, likely greatly diminished the possibility of egalitarian racial attitudes becoming rooted among white Americans.

African-Americans and "Delusive Theories of Equality and Fraternity": The Role of the Press in the Institutionalization of Racial Inequality[1]

Introduction

Research on the mainstream press in American history has predominantly focused on technological advances and the influence of leading editors and newspapers, with little consideration of the press's treatment of minority groups such as African-Americans.[2] Press coverage of minorities seems particularly important in times of great social change or transition, for how the press reports on and treats different groups may influence new or changing values and attitudes. An era when careful study of the press might be especially enlightening is that following the Civil War, a period of unparalleled transition in American history, especially for the citizens recently freed from slavery and the black Americans who had lived free before the war.

Following the Civil War, race relations in America were in a unique position: For possibly the first time since English settlers arrived, all American blacks were legally free. Within five years after the war, Congress, in an attempt to assure that African-Americans would enjoy the full privileges of American citizenship, passed the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution. The Thirteenth abolished slavery; the Fourteenth guaranteed citizenship and equality before the law for blacks; and the Fifteenth established that voting rights could not be denied because of race or skin color. These "War amendments" were enforced and extended by Civil Rights Acts passed in 1866, 1870, 1871 and 1875.[3] Despite such legislation, however, African-Americans were increasingly denied civil rights over the remainder of the 19th century; and in 1896, the Supreme Court decision in

Plessy v. Ferguson institutionalized the "separate but equal" doctrine of race relations, in effect legitimating a second-class citizenship for African-Americans.[4] This paper addresses the role of the press in this outcome.

Most historical research on the press has focused primarily on "great editors" and "great newspapers."[5] Much early research, particularly, is largely descriptive.[6] In the past three decades the role of the press in society has received greater attention, although most historical works still focus heavily on leading editors.[7] Recent social histories of the press, however, include previously ignored groups such as African-Americans and women;[8] these social histories tend to be strongest in breadth, though, and have not examined in sufficient depth the press's role in American race relations.

It is likely that the public influences the press and the press influences the public -- helping to construct what James Carey calls an "ordered" and "meaningful" world for its participants -- although such influences are difficult to measure.[9] Further, Carey said, the press figures prominently in the creation and maintenance of a "shared culture," with "shared even if illusory beliefs" among members of a society.[10] This view, as argued by Raymond Williams, who theorized that communication is essential in constructing "reality," is best summarized in his words:

> Many people seem to assume as a matter of course that there is, first, reality, and then, second, communication about it. . . . The struggle to learn, to describe, to understand, to educate, is a central and necessary part of our humanity. This struggle is not begun at second hand after reality has occurred. It is, in itself, a major way in which reality is continually formed and changed. What we call society is not only a network of political and economic arrangements, but also a process of learning and communication.[11]

Similarly, James Curran, Michael Gurevitch and Janet Woollacott posit that, in the construction of social reality, media are integral in "consolidating and fortifying the values and attitudes of audience members."[12]

That the press plays a particularly central role in the development of *racial* attitudes is the perspective of Herbert Blumer, who theorized that race prejudice is rooted not in personal views and feelings, but in relationships between racial groups.[13] Blumer said:

> A basic understanding of race prejudice must be sought in the process by which racial groups form images of themselves and of others. This process . . . is fundamentally *a collective process.* It operates chiefly through the public media in which individuals who are accepted as the spokesmen of a racial group characterize publicly another racial group. To characterize another racial group is, by opposition, to define one's own group. This is equivalent to placing the two groups in relation to each other, or defining their positions vis-a-vis each other. It is the *sense of social position* emerging from this collective process of characterization which provides the basis of race prejudice.[14]

Blumer acknowledged, however, that, as individuals in dominant and subordinant racial groups interact, the sense of relative group positions can either grow and become entrenched or weaken and disappear.[15] bell hooks has argued, though, that media images of African-Americans "reinforce and reinscribe white supremacy," thus fortifying divisions between racial groups. hooks said that the "institutionalization via mass media of specific images, representations of race, of blackness . . . support and maintain the oppression, exploitation, and overall domination of all black people."[16]

Press treatment of minority groups, then, likely has at least a two-fold consequence: it helps to initially establish the "reality" of the relative positions of racial groups, and it influences whether individual attitudes toward different racial groups become rooted and maintained. Such influence might be particularly true of the press during Reconstruction, an era of profound social change as white and black Americans attempted to establish new social, political, legal, and economic relations. Further, this period was marked by popular newspaper editors who were considered spokesmen for white Americans.[17] At the same time, many whites were being convinced of their superiority by various social, political, and academic leaders advocating such views as Social Darwinism. In such an environment, the press may have been even more important in shaping attitudes toward African-Americans.

Therefore, examination of press treatment of black Americans following the Civil War should aid understanding of the historical legacy of American race relations: How the press responded to developments such as the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, which granted increasing civil rights to African-Americans, likely reflected, shaped and fortified the views of white Americans. This research, then, was guided primarily by the question of whether the newspapers reflected diminishing support for the increasing African-American civil rights. With this general question as a guide, nine of the period's leading newspapers -- four in the North, two in border states and three in the South -- were analyzed for views about African-American civil rights in editorials and articles about the post-war amendments. More specific research questions will be explained below, but it is important first to provide a context within which to review the research findings.

Historical Context

Differing economic and social structures in the North and South -- most specifically, the nation was split over state sovereignty and slavery -- led to the Civil War. Eleven Southern slave-holding states seceded from the Union, while four border states, Missouri, Kentucky, Maryland and Delaware, remained in the Union but retained slaves. The remaining eighteen states (all Northern except California and Oregon) fought for the Union and did not allow slavery.

Southern Aftermath

During the war, President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation, ending slavery, and two years later, in January 1865, Congress passed the Thirteenth Amendment, legally abolishing slavery. Once returned to the Union, however, Southern states passed "Black Codes" to curtail the new liberty of freed slaves.[18] Howard Rabinowitz said these measures, passed by the first popularly elected state legislatures in 1865 and 1866, regulated all behavior of African-Americans, with the goal to "erase the distinction between slave and free Negroes."[19] Vagrancy laws imposed heavy penalties to force blacks to work whether they wanted to or not, and numerous fines were imposed for seditious speeches, insulting gestures or acts, absence from work, curfew violations, and possession of firearms.[20] Sexual relations, particularly, were a concern; most codes included sections similar to the Mississippi one which provided that

> it shall not be lawful for any freedman, free negro or mulatto to intermarry with any white person, . . . and that any person who shall so intermarry shall be deemed guilty of felony, and on conviction shall be confined in the State penitentiary for life.[21]

Further, most codes did not allow African-Americans to serve on juries, vote, or hold office; in sum, Kermit Hall said, blacks were "political ciphers and social pariahs."[22]

As early as July 1865, a Bostonian in Charleston, South Carolina, reported that "the worst sign here . . . is the growth of a bitter and hostile spirit between blacks and whites -- a gap opening between the races, which, it would seem may at some time result seriously."[23] A similar gap existed in Virginia, where African-Americans celebrating the 1866 Civil Rights Act, passed by Congress to "protect all persons in the United States in their Civil Rights,"[24] were fired on by whites; two blacks and two whites died, but no one was arrested.[25] After a visit to the Virginia capital of Richmond, an English traveler noted that the typical African-American "knew how far he may go, and where he must stop," since "[h]abits are not changed by paper law."[26] In Maryland, according to W. A. Low, the development of an "apprentice system" virtually enslaved as many as 10,000 Baltimore-area black youths by 1867.[27]

Even in New Orleans, the cosmopolitan urban center of the lower South where the color line was not as clearly drawn, black Americans made little progress until Military Reconstruction in 1867.[28]

Northern attitudes and actions

Race relations in the North were not much different. Leon Litwack and Leonard Richards have argued that the strongest racial prejudice before the Civil War existed "north of slavery."[29] Litwack wrote:

> By 1860, the North had clearly defined its position on racial relations: white supremacy and social peace required a vigorous separation of blacks and whites and the concentration of political and judicial power in the hands of the superior race -- the Caucasian.[30]

Many Northern leaders, such as President Lincoln and moderate or conservative Republicans, advocated colonization or emigration for African-Americans; but, when this movement began to lose support, several Northern states passed post-war laws similar to the Southern black codes.[31] And, as in the South, inter-racial marriage was a particular concern; Benjamin H. Hunt, writing in 1865 and 1866 about Philadelphia, noted that the city "once owned more slaves than any other northern city," and "of all cities, north or south, she most fears amalgamation."[32]

George Fredrickson has argued that most Northerners saw African-Americans as "amiable being[s] with some good qualities, whose innate submissiveness had served -- and might continue to serve -- Northern purposes."[33] Particularly influential on Northern attitudes was an 1865 essay written by Thomas H. Huxley, the foremost British disciple of Charles Darwin's theory of evolution. Addressing emancipation in the United States, Huxley asserted that black Americans were obviously inferior and that

> whatever the position of stable equilibrium into which the laws of social gravitation may bring the negro, all responsibility for the result will henceforward lie between Nature and him. The white man may wash his hands of it, and the Caucasian conscience be void of reproach for evermore.[34]

According to Fredrickson, Northerners expected black Americans to remain in their "place" -- defined in a double sense as being, "first of all, *in the South*," and "secondly on [their] own side of the line allegedly established by God and science to ensure that the white race would not be contaminated by an infusion of Negro blood."[35] In an effort to prevent race mixing and to preserve free white-labor markets, many Northern states strengthened rules against black migration.[36]

In the late 1860s, the sentiment of "let the Negroes take care of themselves"[37] increasingly guided the Reconstruction policy of the North. The Freedmen's Bureau, instrumental in helping freed slaves adjust to society, was gradually weakened, phased out and replaced after 1866 by "the safeguard of general laws," as provided by the Civil Rights Act and the Fourteenth Amendment, both passed by Congress in the first half of 1866.[38]

In addition to making blacks national citizens, the Fourteenth Amendment also established that

> No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

According to Kenneth Karst, this amendment attempted to guarantee that "all citizens, including blacks who were then the most obvious stigmatized class, would share equally the civil rights that seemed significant."[39] Although eleven Southern states had to ratify the Fourteenth Amendment before returning to the Union, it was two years before three-fourths of all states ratified it -- an indication of Northern opposition. Nonetheless, many Northerners believed that Southerners deserved to be punished, and in March 1867 Congress began Military Reconstruction in the South, disfranchising former Confederate leaders and overturning the black codes.[40]

The Color Line

The new governments under Military Reconstruction, the 1866 Civil Rights

Act, and the eventual ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment combined to theoretically prohibit legal segregation; but Southerners used alternative methods to separate the races.[41] The result, most historians agree, was *de facto* segregation across much of the South by 1870.[42]

In his study of African-Americans in South Carolina during Reconstruction, Joel Williamson argued that although Radical Republicans gained control of the state legislature in 1868, "native whites had already defined a color line in government-supported institutions, on common carriers, in places of public accommodation and amusement, and, of course, in private social organizations." For example, at the 1868 Constitutional Convention, white delegates occupied the front rows while black delegates sat at the rear of the hall.[43] And when black Americans used legal means to end segregation, whites simply withdrew: In May 1867 a native white wrote that Charleston's integrated street cars were "crowded [with] negroes, with but one white man, the Conductor." He added, "The ladies are practically excluded."[44] George Tindall found that an 1868 South Carolina anti-discrimination bill was never enforced, and Vernon L. Wharton said a similar Mississippi law prohibiting discrimination had almost no effect.[45]

African-Americans in some Southern states, however, exercised their rights more freely. In 1867, a sustained protest ended segregation on New Orleans street cars, and the Louisiana constitution of 1868, written by black and white Republicans, granted full rights, including the vote, to all citizens.[46] In the same city, though, white-owned theaters, hotels, restaurants, railways, steamboats, saloons, and other accommodations assigned black customers to separate sections or refused service altogether.[47] Further, across much of the deep South, social codes held that black Americans on a sidewalk must always give way to a white man, especially if the white was accompanied by a woman; "jostling" sometimes led to beatings, shootings, or lynchings.[48]

In Richmond, the United States Circuit Court generated publicity when it convened in May 1867 with six black grand jurors; and half of the twenty-member petit jury scheduled to try former Confederacy president Jefferson Davis were black.[49] A. A. Taylor, however, said that black delegates to the 1867-68 Constitutional Convention in Richmond were "nowhere admitted to the public inns and hotels of the whites in accordance with their legal rights."[50] Public schools in the late 1860s were opened to black Americans, but, with the exception of South Carolina and Louisiana, there were to be separate schools for each race; further, only in New Orleans did a significant degree of integration take place, and then only after a two-year battle.[51] Williamson concluded that in the South, "[T]he pattern of separation was fixed in the minds of the whites almost simultaneously with the emancipation of the Negro. By 1868, the physical color line had, for the most part, already crystallized."[52]

The Battle for Black Suffrage

In February 1869, after rancorous debate in Congress, the Radical Republicans secured passage of the Fifteenth Amendment. The final post-war amendment, the Fifteenth declared that the right to vote could not be abridged "on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude." William Gillette, however, said the amendment faced formidable opposition: Although twenty of thirty-seven states allowed African-Americans to vote, these were not enough to secure ratification; further, only seven states -- five in New England, along with Iowa and Minnesota -- had *voluntarily* given black Americans the vote. Congress had forced black suffrage on eleven Southern states by the Reconstruction acts and on Nebraska by the statehood act, and the state supreme court had ordered it in Wisconsin.[53]

In the South, public opposition to African-American political rights spurred the growth of groups such as the Knights of the White Camelia, the Pale Faces, and the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan.[54] According to John Hope Franklin, these groups as early as 1867 used intimidation, force, ostracism in business and society, bribery at the polls, arson, and even murder to keep black Americans from voting; he wrote that "[d]epriving the Negro of political equality became, to them, a holy crusade in which a noble end justified any means."[55] Congress responded by passing the Civil Rights Acts of 1870 and 1871 to suppress the Klan,[56] but Southern whites then employed other methods to, as Franklin said, "render the Negroes politically a cipher."[57]

Opposition to granting voting rights to black Americans was just as strong in the border states. Gillette said the border states were "generally Democratic, extremely conservative, and violently opposed to Negro suffrage."[58] Kentucky, Maryland and Delaware rejected the amendment, though Delaware eventually ratified it after the required number of states had done so, and in Missouri, the price for Republican ratification was Democratic control of the state legislature by 1872.[59]

The outlook in the North was not much brighter. Northern voters in Kansas and Ohio rejected African-American voting rights in 1867, Michigan did the same in 1868 by a margin of nearly 40,000 votes, and New York followed suit in 1869 by 32,000 votes.[60] In Pennsylvania, *Republicans* had voted down African-American suffrage in 1868 for fear of political reprisals,[61] and in Indiana, fifty-five Democratic legislators resigned when the Republican majority attempted to ratify the amendment.[62] Eventually, however, with the "encouragement" of President Ulysses S. Grant, all Northern states ratified, and in March 1870 the Fifteenth Amendment became law.[63] Leslie H. Fishel said the amendment did not bring the equality African-Americans sought, however, as many "manifestations of prejudice remained."[64] Further, Franklin argued, Northern leaders grew weary of the crusade for black Americans, and by the mid-1870s, concern for African-American civil rights had been replaced by a focus on economic growth.[65]

Method

Given the conditions described above, research examined newspaper reaction to the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, looking at treatment of African-Americans. Research was guided by the general question of whether the newspapers reflected diminishing support for the increasing African-American civil rights. More specific questions asked: Did Northern newspapers reflect strong support for the post-war amendments? Did newspapers in border states, which remained in the Union but held slaves during the war, consistently support African-American civil rights? Did Southern newspapers reflect the view that black Americans were ready for full civil rights? Was the outlook for future race relations in Northern newspapers more egalitarian than in border or Southern papers?

Because it was impossible to examine the reaction in all newspapers to the post-war amendments, nine were selected based on at least three of four reasons. First, historians generally agree upon these (along with their respective editors) as leading newspapers of the era. Second, the papers were published in cities with economic and social significance. Third, newspapers from different regions were selected because the press, both then and now, is not monolithic or singular in views reflected. Fourth, different newspapers in each region were chosen in an attempt to see if they reflected significantly different attitudes within regions toward African-Americans, as such differences might further aid understanding of race relations in this era.

Examined were the New York *Tribune,* New York *Times,* Chicago *Tribune,* Philadelphia *Public Ledger,* Baltimore *Sun,* Missouri *Republican,* New Orleans *Picayune,* Richmond *Dispatch,* and Charleston *Courier.*

The New York *Tribune,* New York *Times,* Chicago *Tribune,* and Philadelphia *Public Ledger,* published in three of the nation's largest cities,[66] were read across much of the North, with the New York *Tribune*'s circulation of 220,000 in 1871 far and away the highest in the nation.[67] Further, Horace Greeley of the New York *Tribune,* Henry Raymond of the *Times,* Joseph Medill and Horace White of the Chicago *Tribune,* and George Childs of the *Public Ledger* have been considered among the most influential editors in this era.[68] Notably, the New York *Tribune* and Chicago *Tribune* were known for steadfast support of the Republican Party, while the *Times* and *Public Ledger* were more independent.[69]

Relatively more conservative on race matters were the Missouri *Republican* and Baltimore *Sun,* the only newspapers with national distinction published in the border states in the 1860s.[70] The *Republican* in St. Louis, the largest city in the Southwest,[71] had a circulation of 59,000,[72] which made it the leading paper in the state that gave the nation both the Missouri Compromise and Dred Scott case -- signal events leading to the Civil War.[73] As in Missouri, Maryland loyalties were divided during the war and Reconstruction. Despite internal strife in Baltimore, a key shipping port in the mid-Atlantic seaboard,[74] the *Sun,* under editor George Abell, developed a national reputation as an enterprising, reformist, and independent paper.[75]

The lasting effects of the Civil War were considered in selecting Southern newspapers. During the war, many papers were suspended or destroyed, and those that survived had small circulations.[76] These damages, when combined with the region's rural population, made the New Orleans *Picayune*'s circulation of 17,360 the highest among Southern papers.[77] New Orleans's position as the cultural center of the South further solidified the *Picayune* as the region's leading newspaper.[78] The other Southern papers examined, the Richmond *Dispatch* and Charleston *Courier,* were published in important cities and were more balanced than competitors. Richmond had been the Confederate capital,[79] and the *Dispatch* was the city's most balanced paper.[80] Charleston was the most important city in South Carolina,[81] the leading state in the secession movement, and was the shipping point for cotton and other Southern products. The *Courier* became known as a restrained leader of the Southern press.[82]

One week's issues of each of these daily newspapers were examined for three separate weeks, following: Congress's passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, Jan. 31, 1865; the Fourteenth Amendment, June 13, 1866; and the Fifteenth Amendment, Feb. 26, 1869.[83] Because news was often delayed due to "telegraph problems" in Southern newspapers, for these papers the week examined began with the first story of the amendment's passage.[84]

All articles and editorials about the amendments were read, and the analysis focused on the following: reaction (support, acceptance, indifference, opposition) to the African-American civil rights granted by each amendment; reasons presented to justify the reaction (natural rights, evolutionary differences, divine determination); and the outlook for race relations (current equality, eventual equality, forever inequality). As stated, a monolithic protest among the press was not expected; the goal was to examine treatment of African-Americans and attitudes toward granting them full civil rights.

Findings

In answer to the general research question, evidence showed the nine newspapers reflected diminishing support for the increasing civil rights of African-Americans. In 1865, eight of nine newspapers responded to the Thirteenth Amendment's abolition of slavery with a mix of strong support and acceptance; in 1869, only two papers supported the Fifteenth Amendment's extension of political rights to black Americans.

In response to the question about whether the Northern newspapers reflected strong support for the post-war amendments, differences were found among papers examined. The Chicago *Tribune* and New York *Tribune*, both Republican papers, consistently reflected strong support for African-American civil rights; the New York *Times* and Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, however, reflected a shift from strong support for the Thirteenth Amendment to a mix of pragmatic support and indifference for the Fourteenth and Fifteenth.

In response to the questions about whether border and Southern newspapers supported the civil rights of black Americans, most of the papers examined opposed the amendments, though differences were found between border and Southern papers. In general, border newspapers reflected the strongest increasing opposition to the increasing African-American civil rights.

In response to the final question about whether the outlook for race relations was more egalitarian in Northern newspapers than in border or Southern papers, differences were found both between and within regions. Notably, though, of the nine Northern, border and Southern newspapers examined, only the Chicago *Tribune* and New York *Tribune* consistently reflected the view that black Americans deserved equal rights.

Thirteenth: Freedom

Reaction to passage of the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery, reflected a realization of the war's approaching end. Of newspapers examined, those in the North supported freedom for African-Americans; those in border states reflected a mix of support and acceptance; and those in the South expressed a combination of reluctant acceptance and opposition.

All four Northern newspapers reflected strong support for the amendment's principle of freedom for all Americans. An editorial in the Chicago *Tribune* called the amendment a "gigantic stride in our progress towards national purity, universal liberty, and a righteous peace."[85] Similarly, the New York *Times* claimed America "is hereafter to be, what it has never been hitherto, thoroughly *democratic* -- resting on human rights as its basis."[86] The *Public Ledger* said, "[T]he desire to take this subject as a bone of contention out of Congress and politics forever, will no doubt influence every free state in its action."[87] The New York *Tribune* called the abolition of slavery the "most important event" in "American history since the Declaration of Independence," and expressed "our wish that all our countrymen might be free."[88] Without exception, the Northern papers examined reflected strong support for the freedom of black Americans.

The Baltimore *Sun*, though not as vigorous as the Northern newspapers, also reflected support for the freedom of all African-Americans. The *Sun*'s lead story on the amendment began:

> The scene in the House of Representatives this afternoon, . . . was very animated, there being an immense and eager crowd, and when finally the result was announced in the passage of the measure, a decidedly uproarious state of things ensued.[89]

During the week examined, the *Sun* contained sixteen stories on the amendment and the ratification process; not one reflected opposition. The Missouri *Republican*, in contrast, did not reflect support for the amendment; neither, however, did it indicate strong opposition. A *Republican* editorial said, "In the behalf of slavery we care nothing at all for the passage of the abolition amendment. But in regard to principle, we think it is wrong." The editorial added, "Had the present Congress not proposed the amendment, the next general Assembly would."[90] Thus, the *Republican*, though opposed to African-American freedom, reflected an acceptance of the end of slavery.

Among Southern papers examined, the Charleston *Courier* and New Orleans *Picayune* seemed to accept slavery's demise. A *Courier* editorial said, "African labor and cotton are and were two peculiarly Southern and prominent institutions and resources" to which politicians "in our Congress" have "shown gross ignorance" (emphasis added).[91] Similarly, the *Picayune* reflected a mix of reluctant acceptance and indifference to the end of slavery; the *Picayune*, however, also reflected the view that black Americans were not ready for freedom. A *Picayune* editorial predicted future racial problems, because to "throw upon their scanty resources a people whose inferiority and singular dependence is never questioned by the intelligent, is to present a problem of difficulties but not to solve it."[92] Reflecting stronger opposition to the end of slavery, the Richmond *Dispatch* called the amendment's passage a "rather laughable" exercise; further, the paper said: "The hand of Heaven has written on the wall the eternal separation of the United States, and no Confederate man will longer ever desire to join together that which God hath put asunder."[93] Both the *Dispatch* and *Picayune*, then, reflected the view that black Americans were not ready for freedom.

Fourteenth: Citizenship and Legal Rights

Although eight of nine newspapers examined had reflected at least acceptance of the end of slavery in 1865, reaction to the 1866 passage of the Fourteenth Amendment, which granted national citizenship and equality before the law to African-Americans, reflected a splintering of support among Northern papers, opposition in border papers, and strong opposition in Southern papers.

The Chicago *Tribune* and New York *Tribune*, two leading Republican papers, consistently reflected the strongest support for African-American rights. Calling for "equal rights and duties for all citizens," a Chicago *Tribune* editorial said, "Fortunate would it be for our country, in our judgment, if Congress were alive to the importance of securing impartial suffrage and political rights to the colored race."[94] New York *Tribune* editorials reflected the same view, asking for "Universal Amnesty-Impartial Suffrage" for all Americans; the *Tribune* added, "If the South will now accord Equal Rights to her Freedmen," Reconstruction terms would be "favorable."[95]

The New York *Times*, however, reflected a more pragmatic view, while no opinion of the amendment was found in the Philadelphia *Public Ledger* articles examined. The *Times*, in its only editorial on the subject, said:

> The maxim, "Let us take what we can get now," should not be lost sight of by the State Legislatures, especially by the legislatures of the Southern States, where the terms of the amendment will be most keenly discussed. These terms may not be altogether palatable, but after all they are not unreasonable in view of the relations of the two sections. They simply protect the civil rights of all citizens.[96]

Of the *Public Ledger*'s eleven stories on the amendment and reaction, not one clearly supported or opposed the amendment.

In the North, then, two staunch Republican newspapers reflected strong support for African-American citizenship and legal rights, while two relatively independent papers reflected a mix of tempered support and indifference.

The Missouri *Republican* and Baltimore *Sun*, which had supported or at least accepted African-American freedom, reflected opposition to increased civil rights for black Americans. The *Republican* termed the Fourteenth Amendment a "thoroughly despotic measure, unworthy of having been framed by an American Congress" and carried on the front page a speech by Union general Frank T. Blair, in which he said, "It would be better to be without representation at all in Congress than to mingle the two races of people and to share the Government which was made by our ancestors for white men."[97] A *Sun* editorial said the amendment was "fraudulent," "wicked and unjust" and "abhorrent to the minds of freemen." A *Sun* article added, "The radical measures of Congress are bringing upon us a new and severe crisis, which will be more perilous to the Union than any of the dangers which we have hitherto encountered."[98]

Views in the Southern papers examined reflected similar opposition to African-American citizenship and legal rights. A Charleston *Courier* editorial said, "Mr. Harris [D-Md.] . . . is utterly opposed to the new and delusive theories of equality and fraternity. And in this he should be sustained. These are not principles of inherent right."[99] A New Orleans *Picayune* editorial decried "the glaring injustice" of the amendment, and an article praised a Democratic speech that was "temperate, unanswerable in its argument, and would have convinced any but men like the present Republican members. But it was like pearls thrown before swine."[100] A Richmond *Dispatch* editorial reflected even stronger opposition to African-American civil rights:

> Years ago John Randolph asserted that *masters were slaves* to the negroes; and this was the truth. To provide for the blacks; to take care of them; to repair damages from their neglect; to husband resources their improvidence and recklessness were ever impairing . . . The master had to look after the negroes, the horses, the cows, the sheep, the hogs, the wagons . . .
>
> *Which was the slave* -- the white man or the black man?
>
> We shall soon see.[101]

Thus, both border and Southern newspapers examined reflected the view that African-Americans were "unworthy" of citizenship and legal rights.

Fifteenth: Political Rights

Reaction to the Fifteenth Amendment among newspapers examined reinforced evidence identified in coverage of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth amendments. In the debate over African-American political rights, papers in the North reflected a further fracturing of opinion; papers in border states reflected increasing opposition; and papers in the South expressed opposition, though with less intensity than border newspapers.

The New York *Tribune* and Chicago *Tribune* reflected the strongest support for African-American political rights, although blacks in New York and Illinois could not vote until national ratification of the amendment thirteen months later. A New York *Tribune* editorial said, "[W]e at last make our practice conform to our principles; assure justice to ourselves by doing justice to others; take the everlasting negro question forever out of National politics, and attain Peace."[102] A Chicago *Tribune* editorial, reflecting a similar view, said the amendment "will take the negro question out of politics, and terminate forever the long disturbance of the public peace over the civil and political *status* of the black man."[103] It is notable, though, that the two Republican papers reflected relief at having the "negro question" out of politics.

Further, the New York *Times* and Philadelphia *Public Ledger* reflected, at best, indifference to black political rights, and, at worst, a willingness to abandon the struggle for African-American civil rights. Of the *Public Ledger*'s nine articles examined, not one reflected an opinion; notably, news of the amendment's passage was only one in a group of eighteen news items.[104] Similarly, the *Times* did not contain an editorial on the amendment, but an editorial did advocate acceptance of Louisiana and Georgia members into Congress despite acknowledgment that "the moral completeness of [their] reconstruction may be less obvious than that of South Carolina or Alabama, but in a legal aspect it is quite as perfect" (emphasis added).[105] Further, a front-page story titled "The Dusky Race" said African-Americans in New York could be divided into two classes, "those who are willing to work, and those who would not work if they could get the opportunity." The story continued:

> The first and far larger class are quiet, inoffensive and respectable, and remain at home at night; the second are always in the streets day and night . . . and have mostly got thief written on their faces. . . .
> The bulk of [New York black Americans], if they had but a fair chance, would assuredly make a name and a position for themselves, while others are congenitally of such low habits, both mental and bodily, as to be little better than animals.[106]

Thus, by the time of the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, the Northern newspapers reflected diminishing concern for the civil rights of African-Americans.

Much stronger opposition to African-American political rights was reflected in the Baltimore *Sun* and Missouri *Republican*. The *Sun*'s lead article said the amendment was a "measure of iniquity sent forth on its journey of wrong," and a *Sun* editorial said, "[T]he amendment is in conflict with the original design of the constitution, which recognized in the States the reserved prerogative of dealing with the qualifications of their own electors, at all times."[107] A *Republican* editorial was less subtle:

> To the negro, suffrage could never be anything but an abstract right, to which the white man will always have to give its real basis. Indifferent as he must forever be in regard to almost all the problems of civilization, he never can seize in its entirety the meaning of citizenship.[108]

Therefore, consistent with their reactions to the Fourteenth Amendment, border newspapers reflected the view that black Americans would "never" be ready for political rights.

The Southern newspapers examined, however, did not reflect equal intensity of opposition to African-American political rights. Of thirty-two articles and editorials examined in the New Orleans *Picayune*, Charleston *Courier*, and Richmond *Dispatch*, only eight reflected opposition, and only two expressed strong opposition (the remainder did not include an opinion). A strongly opposed *Courier* editorial said, "Nothing short of revolution can set right the wrong" of African-Americans receiving the vote.[109] A *Picayune* editorial, however, reflected the prevalent milder view in the Southern papers examined: "Congress makes haste and strains its authority to give to the field negro the immediate power to vote, and to outvote the intelligence of the native residents of the south."[110] Similarly, a *Dispatch* editorial said that the Fifteenth Amendment "now goes to the states -- and they won't adopt it. But Congress felt bound to hurry it up during this session, as they feared it could not get through the next."[111] The Southern newspapers, then, reflected less opposition to African-American voting rights than the border papers.

Conclusions and Discussion

During Reconstruction, an era of great social change, as black and white Americans attempted to establish new social, political, legal and economic relations, how the press reported on and treated black Americans likely influenced the racial values, attitudes, and behavior of white Americans in the short, and more importantly, long term. Treatment of African-American civil rights in nine leading newspapers in editorials and articles about the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments, passed within five years of the Civil War, is suggestive regarding the shaping of American attitudes about race relations.

These findings suggest that the mainstream press, as both molders and mirrors of public opinion, played a critical role in the construction, consolidation and institutionalization of attitudes toward African-Americans in the years following the Civil War. As leading Northern, border and Southern newspapers increasingly characterized black Americans as unfit for full civil rights, white Americans as a group were, by opposition, defined -- often overtly -- as superior to black Americans. At the same time, many white Americans were also being convinced of their superiority by various social, political, and academic leaders. Thus, the citizenry was encouraged to believe in racial differences as, simultaneously, leading newspapers reflected, shaped and reinforced such attitudes. The press, then, in its reinforcement of an underlying value of white superiority, increased the likelihood of the entrenchment of racial prejudice toward African-Americans. This surely contributed to the American social, political, legal, and economic environments that institutionalized racial inequality over the last quarter of the 19th century.

Briefly, the evidence found to answer the research questions is summarized below.

The newspapers reflected diminishing support for the increasing African-American civil rights; further, it appears the greatest shift occurred among some Northern newspapers. In 1865, all four Northern papers reflected strong support for the Thirteenth Amendment's granting of freedom to black Americans; in 1869, however, only the Chicago *Tribune* and New York *Tribune*, leading Republican papers, reflected support for the Fifteenth Amendment. In contrast, the New York *Times* and Philadelphia *Public Ledger* reflected, at best, indifference to African-American political rights.

This mixed response among Northern papers likely reflected Northern divisions over whether to continue the battle for African-American civil rights; in addition, the shift reflected in the *Times* and *Public Ledger* likely helped white Americans to construct and adopt an attitude of indifference, such as that advocated by Thomas Huxley, toward the struggles of black Americans. Further, treatment of African-Americans in Northern newspapers seems particularly important since many white Americans reading these papers probably did not have extensive contact with blacks. Thus, the characterization of African-Americans in these newspapers likely played a central role in constructing the "reality" of racial inequality -- experienced through the press -- that was increasingly accepted and believed by many Northern whites.

In response to the increasing African-American civil rights, border papers reflected a shift from mixed support and acceptance of such rights in 1865 to strong opposition by 1869, while Southern papers consistently reflected the view that black Americans were not ready for civil rights. Notably, though, by 1869 the intensity of opposition to African-American civil rights reflected in border papers surpassed that found in Southern papers, which is consistent with the assertion by Gillette, cited earlier, that border states were "violently opposed" to suffrage for black Americans. The attitudes reflected in the border newspapers, then, likely reinforced white supremacy while consolidating feelings of racial antipathy toward black Americans in these states. Further, such an environment likely encouraged not only prejudicial attitudes among white Americans but also prejudicial behavior such as segregation and discrimination, practices that increased as racial inequality became institutionalized in the late 19th century.

At the same time, however, the shift among Southern newspapers from strong opposition to the Fourteenth Amendment's granting of African-American citizenship and legal rights to relatively mild reactions to the Fifteenth Amendment, suggests that Southern racial divisions were not immutable. In comparison to the border newspapers, which reflected increasing opposition to each successive amendment, the reaction in Southern papers to the Fifteenth Amendment reflected diminished opposition to the civil rights of black Americans, possibly in part because of the legal and political systems implemented under Military Reconstruction. It seems likely, however, that racial attitudes reflected in the Northern and border newspapers encouraged Southern race demagogues that African-American civil rights were tenuous at best; further, the Southern papers examined never reflected support for civil rights for black Americans. Potential transformations of Southern racial attitudes, then, likely had limits in this period.

In response to the final question about evidence in the newspapers of an egalitarian outlook for future race relations, only the New York *Tribune* and Chicago *Tribune* consistently reflected the view that African-Americans deserved equal rights. That African-Americans could not vote in either Illinois or New York at the time of the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment, however, suggests these two Republican papers were out of step with much of public opinion. Further, both papers, upon extension of political rights to black Americans, reflected relief at having the "negro question out of politics." This suggests that even leading advocates of African-American rights were weary of the crusade. Thus, the diminishing concern for African-American rights reflected in Northern papers, coupled with the increasingly omnipresent view in border and Southern papers that black Americans were not worthy of equal rights, likely greatly diminished the possibility of egalitarian racial attitudes becoming rooted among white Americans.

Notes

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1. The author would like to thank University of Minnesota-Twin Cities professor Hazel Dicken-Garcia for her comments and suggestions on earlier drafts. This paper originated in a graduate seminar taught by professor Dicken-Garcia in fall 1992.

2. The terms African-Americans, black Americans and blacks are used interchangeably in this paper to refer to the same group of individuals.

3. For an excellent review of these amendments and acts, see Charles Fairman (1971). Reconstruction and Reunion, 1864-88: Part One (New York: Macmillan).

4. The "institutionalization of racial inequality" refers to the process of implementation and maintenance of racial inequality in many important social, political, and cultural institutions.

5. Journalism historian Hazel Dicken-Garcia, commenting in 1989 on the state of journalism history, writes: "For generations a line of historical inquiry has answered the question of how change occurs with a theory that in large part makes change the result of individual action. Called the "great person" theory, or "rational actor" model, this view emphasizes individuals as primary agents of change, focusing on the genius of a few individuals in any given era as responsible for shaping history." Hazel Dicken-Garcia (1989). Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press), 235.

6. Such works include: S.N.D. North (1884), History and Present Condition of the Newspaper and Periodical Press of the United States (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office); James Melvin Lee (1917), History of American Journalism (Cambridge, Mass.: The Riverside Press); Willard Grosvenor Bleyer (1927), Main Currents in the History of American Journalism (Cambridge, Mass.: The Riverside Press); Alfred M. Lee (1937), The Daily Newspaper in America (New York: MacMillan); Frank Luther Mott (1941), American Journalism (New York: MacMillan). With the exception of Lee's The Daily Newspaper in America, which includes the rudimentary beginnings of the consideration of the role of the press in society, these works are dominated by technological determinism and a focus on the great editors and great newspapers in the field. Further, these works treat the history of journalism as a seamless progression to the current highest form. For information on particular early editors and papers, however, these works are invaluable.

7. Research examining the role of the press in society includes: Sidney Kobre (1969), Development of American Journalism (Dubuque: Wm. C. Brown Company Publishers); Edwin Emery (1954), The Press and America (New Jersey: Prentice Hall); Michael Emery and Edwin Emery (1988, 4th ed.), The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media (New Jersey: Prentice Hall). These works consider the press as it interacts with other political and economic aspects of society, but they still focus heavily on great editors and virtually ignore minority publications and their audiences. Again, however, for information on specific early editors and papers, these works are invaluable.

8. Such recent works include: Michael Schudson (1978), Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers (New York: Basic Books, Inc.); Dicken-Garcia, Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America; Marvin Olasky (1991), Central Ideas in the Development of American Journalism (Hillsdale, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers). While encompassing some minority groups, however, these social histories tend to be stronger in breadth rather than in depth. Further, the role of the press in fostering, reinforcing and/or reducing animosity between

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individuals of different race, ethnicity, or gender, is largely ignored.

9. James W. Carey (1988). Communication as Culture (Cambridge, MA: Unwin Hyman, Inc.), 18.

10. Carey, 43.

11. Raymond Williams (1968). Communications (London: Penguin Books), 18-19.

12. James Curran, Michael Gurevitch, and Janet Woollacott (1982), "The study of the media: theoretical approaches," in Gurevitch et al. (eds.), Culture, Society and the Media (London and New York: Methuen), 14.

13. Herbert Blumer (1958). "Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position," Pacific Sociological Review, 1:3-7.

14. Blumer, 3-4.

15. Blumer, 5.

16. bell hooks (1992). Black Looks: Race and Representation (Boston: South End Press), 1, 2.

17. See, for example, Mott, American Journalism; Kobre, Development of American Journalism; Emery and Emery, The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media; Dicken-Garcia, Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America.

18. Kermit L. Hall (1989). The Magic Mirror (New York: Oxford University Press), 143.

19. Howard N. Rabinowitz (1978). Race Relations in the Urban South (New York: Oxford University Press), 34.

20. John Hope Franklin (1974, 4th ed.). From Slavery to Freedom (New York: Alfred A. Knopf), 241-42.

21. Mississippi *Session Laws*, regular session, 1865, p. 82. Quoted from Vernon L. Wharton (1968), "Jim Crows Law and Miscegenation," in Joel Williamson (ed.), The Origins of Segregation (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath Company), 18.

22. Hall, 144.

23. New York Times, July 11, 1865.

24. Act of April 9, 1866, c. 31, 14 STAT. 27-30. An act to protect all persons in the United States in their Civil Rights, and furnish the means of their vindication. 39th Congress, 1st session.

25. A. A. Taylor (1926). "Negro in the Reconstruction of Virginia," Journal of Negro History, 265.

26. William Hepworth Dixon (1867). New America (London), 332-33.

27. W. A. Low (1952). "The Freedmen's Bureau and Civil Rights in Maryland," Journal of Negro History, 37:221-247.

28. Dale A. Somers (1974). "Black and White in New Orleans: A Study in Urban Race Relations, 1865-1900," Journal of Southern History, 40:19-42.

29. Leon F. Litwack (1961). North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press); Leonard L. Richards (1970). Gentlemen of Property and Standing (New York: Oxford University Press).

30. Litwack, 112.

31. George M. Fredrickson (1971). The Black Image in the White Mind (New York: Harper & Row), 166-67; Hall, 144.

32. Benjamin H. Hunt (1866). Why Colored People in Philadelphia are Excluded from the Street Cars (Philadelphia: Merrihew & Son), 19.

33. Fredrickson, 174.

34. Thomas H. Huxley (1865). "Emancipation -- Black and White," in Science and Education (New York, 1896). Quoted in Fredrickson, 235-36.

35. Fredrickson, 174.

36. Hall, 144.

37. New York Tribune, May 25, 1865.

38. Franklin, 244-247; Fredrickson, 183.

39. Kenneth L. Karst (1977). "Equal Citizenship under the Fourteenth Amendment," Harvard Law Review, 91:11-21.

40. Hall, 144; C. Vann Woodward (1951). Origins of the New South, 1877-1913 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press), 209.

41. Joel Williamson (1968). "Introduction," in Williamson (ed.), The Origins of Segregation (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath Company), vi.

42. Williamson, vi. See also, Rabinowitz, Race Relations in the Urban South; Joel Williamson (1986), A Rage for Order: Black/White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation (New York: Oxford University Press); C. Vann Woodward (1966), The Strange Career of Jim Crow (New York: Oxford University Press, 2d ed.); Charles E. Wynes (1961), Race Relations in Virginia, 1870-1902 (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press); George B. Tindall (1952), South Carolina Negroes, 1877-1900 (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press).

43. Joel Williamson (1965). After Slavery: The Negro in South Carolina During Reconstruction, 1861-1877 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press), 280, 293-294.

44. Quoted in Williamson, After Slavery, 292.

45. Tindall, 292; Wharton, 15.

46. Somers, 24.

47. Somers, 24.

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48. Wharton, 17.

49. Rabinowitz, 38-39.

50. Taylor, 296.

51. Howard N. Rabinowitz (1976). "From Exclusion to Segregation," Journal of American History, 63:325-350; Somers, 24.

52. Williamson, After Slavery, 298.

53. William Gillette (1965), The Right to Vote: The Passage of the Fifteenth Amendment (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press), 79-80.

54. Franklin, 262.

55. Franklin, 263.

56. Act of May 31, 1870, c. 114, 16 STAT. 140-146. An Act to enforce the Right of Citizens of the United States to vote in the Several States of this Union, and for other Purposes. 41st Congress, 2d session; Act of April 20, 1871, c. 22, 17 STAT. 13-15. An Act to enforce the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. 42d Congress, 1st session.

57. Franklin, 265.

58. Gillette, 105.

59. Gillette, 105-112.

60. Gillette, 25-26.

61. Leslie H. Fishel, Jr. (1954). "Northern Prejudice and Negro Suffrage, 1865-1870," Journal of Negro History, 39:8-26.

62. Gillette, 131.

63. Gillette, 84.

64. Fishel, 26.

65. Franklin, 266.

66. According to the census of 1870, New York was the nation's largest city with a population of 942,292, Philadelphia was the second-largest with a population of 674,022, and Chicago was the fifth-largest with a population of 298,977. Philadelphia's population included 21,950 African-Americans, seventh-largest of all urban areas. See U.S. Bureau of the Census (1872), Ninth Census of the United States: Statistics of Population (Washington: Government Printing Office), 380. In addition to their large populations, New York was the leading port in the Northeast, Chicago was the economic and social center of the Midwest, and Philadelphia was the economic and cultural leader of the Mid-Atlantic states.

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67. Circulation figures are from 1871 because it was the first year such information was made available to the public; see George P. Rowell (1871), American Newspaper Directory (New York: Rowell & Company). According to Rowell, the Chicago Tribune had a circulation of 84,000 and the New York Times had a circulation of 55,000.

68. Of Horace Greeley, who has been praised and criticized widely, Robert E. Park wrote, "America has had better newspaper men than Horace Greeley, although none, perhaps, whose opinions exercised so wide an influence." Park (1923), "The Natural History of the Newspaper," American Journal of Sociology, 29:282.

When Henry Raymond died in June 1869, E.L Godkin wrote in the Nation, "The Times under [Raymond's] management probably came nearer the newspaper of the good time coming than any other in existence; in this, that it encouraged truthfulness -- the reproduction of facts uncolored by the necessities of 'a cause' or by the editor's personal feelings -- among reporters; that it carried decency, temperance, and moderation into discussion, and banished personality from it; and thus not only supplied the only means by which rational beings can get at the truth, but helped to abate the greatest nuisance of the age, the coarseness, violence, calumny, which does so much to drive sensible and high-minded and competent men out of public life or to keep them from entering it." Nation, June 24, 1869.

Of the post-Civil War Chicago Tribune, journalism historian Frank Luther Mott said, "Despite this comparatively [to the New York Tribune] small circulation [of 84,000], the [Chicago Tribune] prospered; its advertising patronage was good, its editorial page retained the prestige in the country at large which it had won during the Civil War, and it was one of the best newspapers in the whole country." Mott, 466.

Journalism historian Sidney Kobre said George W. Childs, who purchased the Public Ledger from William M. Swain in 1864, "was considered by many as the most famous Philadelphia editor since Benjamin Franklin." Kobre, 421-22. According to Mott, the Public Ledger under Childs "enjoyed a great national prestige" as an "influential journal." Mott, 450.

69. Although Times editor Henry Raymond served as a Republican in Congress in the late 1860s, the Times did not always support Republican policies. See, for example, Emery and Emery (1988), The Press and America: An Interpretive History of the Mass Media; Mott, American Journalism; Kobre, Development of American Journalism; Fishel, "Northern Prejudice and Negro Suffrage"; Fredrickson, The Black Image in the White Mind.

70. The Louisville (Ky.) Courier-Journal, a respected newspaper that would have been a logical selection as a border newspaper, was not used because it did not come into existence until 1868 when the Daily Courier and Journal merged. Henry Watterson, who played the key role in the Courier-Journal's rise, did not become editor until spring of 1868.

71. St. Louis was the nation's fourth-largest city with a population of 310,864, which included 22,098 African-Americans, sixth-highest in American cities. U.S. Bureau of the Census, 380.

72. For the circulation, see Rowell, 241-244. Journalism historian Frank Luther Mott said, "The Missouri Republican was, for nearly a century, the most influential paper in its state. Its war policy, though Democratic, was carefully conservative. In the controversy over secession, it printed articles on both sides." Mott, 362.

73. For background on the Missouri Compromise and Dred Scott case, see Thomas Hart Benton (1857), Historical and legal examination of that part of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States in the Dred Scott case (New York: Appleton).

74. Low, 229; Kobre, 424. Baltimore's population of 267,354 made it the sixth-largest city in the nation; further, its 39,437 African-Americans were the second-highest in American cities. U.S. Bureau of the

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Census, 380.

75. The Sun had a circulation of 13,000, which Sidney Kobre said was more a reflection of Baltimore's "paralysis" than of the paper's merits. Kobre, 424; circulation obtained from Rowell, 241-244. Of the Sun, journalism scholar John C. Merrill said, "In the period after the Civil War, mainly under the leadership of George Abell, *The Sun* fought vigorously against corruption of all types, but particularly against political machines and corrupt judges who had been appointed by them. The paper's campaigns during the last three decades of the nineteenth century did much to enhance its reputation. Politically, *The Sun* has always been independent." John C. Merrill (1968), The Elite Press: Great Newspapers of the World (New York: Pitman Publishing), 110.

76. Mott, 360-372; Emery and Emery, 202.

77. Rowell, 241-244.

78. New Orleans, with a population of 191,418, was the nation's ninth-largest city; its 49,897 African-Americans, however, were the most in any urban area in the United States. In addition, New Orleans was the economic and cultural center of Southern life. See Harlan, 663; Somers, 21; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 380.

Journalism historian Sidney Kobre said the Picayune was "the outstanding paper" in the Mississippi Valley; Kobre, 280. The Picayune's reputation, according to Michael Emery and Edwin Emery, had been established during the Mexican War in 1846, when it led in coverage of the war, due to the work of star reporter George Wilkins Kendall; Emery and Emery, 166.

79. Richmond, the capital of Virginia, had a population of 51,038, but nearly half of the citizens were black. Its 23,104 African-Americans gave Richmond the fifth-largest black community in the nation. U.S. Bureau of the Census, 380.

80. Although the Dispatch's circulation was only 5,600 following the war, journalism historians have considered it the best paper in Richmond. Michael Emery and Edwin Emery said, "The Richmond Dispatch, with 18,000 subscribers when war broke out, was outranked only by the largest New Orleans dailies [in the South]. And as important as the Richmond papers were in the journalism of the Confederacy, the Dispatch had more readers than the Enquirer, Whig, and Democrat combined. The Enquirer was the organ of the Jefferson Davis administration until 1863 when the Sentinel was established for that purpose." Emery and Emery, 202.

81. The largest city on the Atlantic coast south of Baltimore, Charleston had a population of 48,956, of which more than half were black Americans. Its 26,113 African-Americans gave Charleston the fourth-largest black community in the nation. U.S. Bureau of the Census, 380.

82. With a circulation of 4,800, the Courier was slightly smaller than another Charleston paper, the Mercury, which Frank Luther Mott said "came to be looked upon by northern editors as the mouthpiece of the more extreme pro-slavery views." Rowell, 241-244; Mott, 189. Sidney Kobre said that the Courier, in contrast, "exemplified [owner] Aaron Smith Willington's concept of what a newspaper should be, a commercial enterprise, presenting the news fully, accurately and impartially, letting its readers form their own judgments and opinions." Kobre, 279.

83. As noted in the historical context section, each of the amendments was not ratified by the requisite three-fourths of states for some time following its passage in Congress. The Thirteenth, passed by Congress on Jan. 31, 1865, was ratified on Dec. 18, 1865; the Fourteenth, passed on June 13, 1866, was ratified on July 28, 1868; the Fifteenth, passed on Feb. 26, 1869, was ratified on March 30, 1870. Newspapers were examined following Congress's passage of each amendment, however, because it was

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thought reactions would be greater in number and be geared toward attempting to shape public opinion.

84. In two situations the delay was more than a week. The New Orleans Picayune did not receive word (or, at least, did not publish it) of the Thirteenth Amendment's passage until Feb. 11, 1865; the Picayune was thus examined Feb. 11-17. The Charleston Courier did not publish word of the Thirteenth Amendment's passage until Feb. 8, 1865; the Courier was examined Feb. 8-15 because it did not have a Sunday edition.

85. Chicago Tribune, Feb. 1, 1865, p. 2.

86. New York Times, Feb. 1, 1865, p. 4.

87. Philadelphia Public Ledger, Feb. 3, 1865, p. 1.

88. New York Tribune, Feb. 1, 1865, p. 1, 4.

89. Baltimore Sun, Feb. 1, 1865, p. 4.

90. Missouri Republican, Feb. 2, 1865, p. 2.

91. Charleston Courier, Feb. 11, 1865, p. 1.

92. New Orleans Picayune, Feb. 12, 1865, p. 4.

93. Richmond Dispatch, Feb. 7, 1865, p. 1.

94. Chicago Tribune, June 20, 1866, p. 2.

95. New York Tribune, June 14, 1866, p. 4; June 19, 1866, p. 4.

96. New York Times, June 15, 1866, p. 4.

97. Missouri Republican, June 17, 1866, p. 1; June 18, 1866, p. 1.

98. Baltimore Sun, June 15, 1866, p. 2; June 20, 1866, p. 4.

99. Charleston Courier, June 20, 1866, p. 2.

100. New Orleans Picayune, June 15, 1866, p. 2; June 21, 1866, p. 2.

101. Richmond Dispatch, June 16, 1866, p. 2.

102. New York Tribune, Feb. 27, 1869, p. 6.

103. Chicago Tribune, March 2, 1869, p. 2.

104. Philadelphia Public Ledger, Feb. 27, 1869, p. 1.

105. New York Times, March 1, 1869, p. 4.

106. New York Times, March 2, 1869, p. 1.

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107. Baltimore Sun, Feb. 27, 1869, p. 2; March 5, 1869, p. 2.

108. Missouri Republican, Feb. 27, 1869, p. 2.

109. Charleston Courier, March 5, 1869, p. 2.

110. New Orleans Picayune, Feb. 28, 1869, p. 4.

111. Richmond Dispatch, March 1, 1869, p. 2.

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Act of April 20, 1871, c. 22, 17 STAT. 13-15. An Act to enforce the provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. 42d Congress, 1st session.

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ALL THAT UNSUNG JAZZ:
HOW KANSAS CITY PAPERS MISSED THE STORY

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All That Unsung Jazz:
How Kansas City Papers Missed the Story

Perhaps improbably for a provincial city of under half a million people, Kansas City, Missouri, from the mid-1920s to the late '30s, was a crucible of red-hot artistic action. The art was jazz, and helping fuel its vitality was the atmosphere of good times and lawlessness that prevailed under the political rule of "Boss" Tom Pendergast. Both before and after the repeal of Prohibition, scores of night clubs and dance halls, some gangster-owned, resounded almost nonstop with the virile, blues-based music of the city's great bands.

The array of talent associated with Kansas City's jazz heyday was by any measure impressive. Among the musicians were leaders Bennie Moten, Bill "Count" Basie, Andy Kirk and Harlan Leonard; pianists Mary Lou Williams, Pete Johnson and Jay McShann; sax innovaters Lester Young, Buster Smith, Ben Webster and (somewhat later) Charlie "Bird" Parker; trumpeters "Hot Lips" Page and Buck Clayton; drummers Jo Jones and Baby Lovett; and vocalists "Big Joe" Turner and Jimmy Rushing. By the mid-'30s, at least four of the city's jazz ensembles, those of Moten and Kirk, plus Buster Smith's Blue Devils and George E. Lee's Novelty Singing Orchestra, had reached a national audience through recordings.[1] For other artists, national fame would have to wait until they had moved on to the ultimate jazz capital, New York, following the demise of Pendergast rule and of Kansas City's once-roaring nightlife scene.

At the height of that scene, however, the abundance and quality of the music were sufficient to establish "Kaycee's" reputation throughout the Southwest as a place to play or hear great jazz. The musical competition was fierce. As gifted a drummer as Jo Jones, later with Basie, worried upon arriving in town that he wasn't qualified to compete with the city's jazz greats.[2] No fewer than 50 spots offering live music occupied a section of the African-American district only six blocks square, recalled pianist Mary Lou Williams. Williams may have exaggerated the number but not radically; another estimate was "30-odd" clubs in the same neighborhood. Estimates of the grand total of nightclubs in the city at the time range from 200 to 500.[3] Count Basie remembered a "marvelous town" of "Clubs, clubs, clubs, clubs, clubs, clubs, clubs. As a matter of fact, I thought that was all Kansas City was made up of, was clubs.... We'd go to one job we'd play on, then go jamming until seven, eight in the morning."[4]

Given the renown and visibility of this jazz culture, one might suppose that local newspapers at the time would have found it a rich subject of news and commentary. If only on the basis of standard news values, Kansas City jazz at its zenith would seem to have merited more than superficial coverage by the city's white- and black-oriented press.

What sort of coverage was actually granted is the primary question this study has sought to answer through an examination of local newspapers published in the first six months of 1935. Further, in seeking reasons behind the papers' responses to Kansas City's jazz scene, the study includes personal interviews of news people whose careers spanned the era and whose recollections could shed light on their papers' editorial practices.

Kansas City journalism in the mid-'30s was dominated by the evening Kansas City Star and its morning sibling, The Kansas City Times. (Although The Star and The Times were technically one newspaper with some shared editors and writers, for purposes of clarity they are analyzed here as separate papers.) The African-American community, meanwhile, was served by a locally published weekly, The Call, which printed a city edition for Kansas City readers and other editions mailed to regional subscribers. Another but much weaker white-run paper, the Kansas City Journal-Post, which folded in 1942, is not included in this study.[5]

The focus period of Jan. 1 through June 31, 1935, was chosen because it appears to have been a climactic time in Kansas City jazz. That year was the last in which three of the city's most popular bands, those of Moten, Kirk and Leonard, were active locally between out-of-town "gigs." On any night, the jazz clubs between 12th and 18th streets, Troost Avenue to Vine, blared with the music of local stars who had achieved or were on the brink of national fame.[6] But 1935 was also a year of upheaval. Moten would be dead by early spring, apparently the victim of a bungled tonsilectomy.[7] Within months his band would be taken over by pianist Count Basie, who in 1936 would move the group on to New York. Other musicians too would be departing soon to livelier jazz meccas as the wild and wicked era of Pendergast rule approached its end in 1938.

Given the possibility that neither The Star, nor The Times nor The Call had covered jazz extensively during these six months, it was decided that only a thorough, issue-by-issue examination of all three papers would yield valid results. Even if jazz-related stories were few and scattered, an exhaustive search of this kind would turn them up. Thus the study was to involve the perusal of 181 consecutive issues of The Star, 157 of The Times, and 26 of The Call.

With the advantage of hindsight, one can readily argue what kind of coverage Kansas City jazz should have received. Several factors, however, supported the premise that thorough reportage and commentary about jazz were unrealistic expectations in that place and time. Much more likely, it was reasoned, would be the discovery that the true Kansas City jazz scene, as distinct from the popular dance-band culture of white nightclubs, had received little more than cursory treatment in the city's newspapers.[8]

Such a finding, indeed, was predicted in comments by Dave Dexter, a onetime Kansas City journalist and eventually an editor of Down Beat, who in 1981 wrote this summary of local jazz coverage in 1936: "To my knowledge, no one had written a line [about jazz] when I joined the Kansas City Journal-Post in May, 1936. The big paper was the K.C. Star (evening) and Times (morning)...but it was stodgy, dull, reactionary in those days. I occasionally read the [black-run] K.C. Call, but I can't recall any serious jazz-swing writing, only straight news items...."[9]

Underpinning the hypothesis that local jazz was less than thoroughly covered were journalistic, cultural and social realities of the period.

For one thing, it seems most unlikely that jazz news and reviews were staples of American journalism during the decade. In a study of early jazz criticism, Ronald Welburn writes of a "proliferation of jazz commentary" in journalism between the world wars, and adds that "writers-reporters-journalists and critics discussed the musical implications [of jazz] increasingly in the 1930s."[10] Yet his work names only a dozen or so newspapers and magazines that appear to have maintained regular staff or contributing jazz writers. Among those publications were five major black papers, including the Chicago Defender and the New York Amsterdam News; the white-run Brooklyn Eagle, New York Herald Tribune and Chicago Herald and Examiner; the national periodical, The New Republic; and the popular-music magazines Down Beat and Metronome.[11] Conspicuously absent is The New York Times, which, according to its 1935 index, carried only one jazz news story, an overseas item, during the entire year.[12]

Another perhaps salient point is raised by scholar Kathy Ogren, who observes that jazz from the outset had been regarded as "a music of raw emotions -- of hard luck and good times, of lust and loneliness. Neither jazz nor the places where it was played fell under the control of respectable whites. The morally and culturally subversive aspects of jazz stirred anxieties that fueled a long-running public controversy in the 1920s."[13] While the same scholar reveals that much anti-jazz sentiment had dissipated by the early 1930s,[14] there still appears to have been a residue of disapproval, at least in the Midwest. A Kansas City lawyer, addressing graduates of the local music conservatory in 1935, used the occasion to lambast jazz as "a mental miasma, a contagion of lawlessness, perversion, distortion and lewdness."[15] Jazz music was unmentioned but implicitly present in the findings of two pastors who toured the city's vice-ridden nightclub zone. In a sermon about the experience, one of them described it as "a trip to hell and back."[16]

Stolidly conservative and boosterish in much of their editorial content, The Star and Times were no friends of the Pendergast Machine or the wicked ways that flourished under its patronage. The headline of a Times editorial deploring nightclub liquor abuses captures the tone of moral righteousness often struck on the papers' opinion pages: "Let's Have Decency!"[17]

The Call, which had recently been edited by NAACP leader Roy Wilkins, remained a staunch upholder of middle-class values as well as a powerful voice for racial equality. Like the city's main white papers, The Call appears to have given special attention to promoting cultural uplift. While it did run some jazz news, it granted noticeably greater space to the more genteel arts: classical music recitals, folk operas and symphonies, choir concerts, plays and dance productions, most of them sponsored by churches or schools. One typical Call Amusements Page, for example, carried two jazz items of seven and two paragraphs respectively, but devoted 13 paragraphs to the review of a classical music performance, eight paragraphs to news of an upcoming amateur theater show, and 22 paragraphs to a summary of the latest films.[18]

Wilkins himself, whose op-ed column continued in The Call well after he had left the paper, had never liked jazz, according to New York jazz critic and impresario John Hammond. In Hammond's words, the civil rights leader was "typical black bourgeoisie."[19]

Just as one suspects that some Kansas City editors viewed all that jazz with distaste, so might one suspect that among white editors a factor in news decisions was race.

Notably, The Star and Times had longstanding racist editorial policies that led to a semi-boycott of news from the black innercity. Even well after World War II, recalls a onetime Star managing editor, the papers almost never published obituaries or photographs of black citizens. (An exception was made for a favorite waiter in publisher Roy Roberts' private club, whose death rated a long Page 2 obituary with a half-column cut.) Those African-Americans whose names did appear in the news were always identified by race: "Negro."[20]

Jazz historians agree that Kansas City jazz was essentially an African-American art form, which happened to have thrived in a segregated town. While jazz nationally had its share of great white musicians (Benny Goodman, Gene Krupa, Bix Beiderbecke and Jack Teagarden come immediately to mind), the story appears to have been far different in this Midwestern outpost. As one ethnomusicologist writes: "Kansas City musicians were barred from transcultural movement by the rigidity of the color line. Jazz remained strictly Afro-American, both in terms of its value system and its social and geographic diffusion."[21] Not one of the Kansas City jazz innovators listed at the beginning of this paper was white, nor were any of their esteemed but less famous fellow band members.[22]

Touring white "name" orchestras such as Glen Gray's, Ben Pollack's and Hal Kemp's did furnish some jazz as well as dance music for the white patrons of exclusive hotel ballrooms.[23] But there is no reason to suppose that their musical styles were influenced by the distinctive sounds of Kansas City's great black bands.[24] In the city and its territory, as jazz scholar Ross Russell observes, the response of white musicians to black jazz style was "weak and scattered."[25]

As for the city as a whole, strong racial divisions -- the kind reflected in The Star and Times news policies -- were almost everywhere to be seen. True, many jazz nightclubs in or near the black district, featuring black talent, welcomed a white clientele. (A prominent club, the Reno, five blocks west of the city's Little Harlem, catered to both black and white patrons, who were separated by a divider to discourage mixing.)[26] Yet segregation of the city's major hotels and restaurants, not to mention schools, swimming pools, barber shops and some parks, was a fact of life. Black customers in the '30s could be seated in white-run theaters, but only in the balconies.[27]

One handicap faced by the researcher is that jazz music and jazz musicians simply were not identified and labeled as such in the local press. (Even the word "jazz" appeared only three times in Star news stories, twice in The Times, and not once in The Call during the focus period.)[28] This was no problem when historically confirmed jazz figures such as Moten and Kirk showed up in the news. But in Kansas City Star stories, the orchestras named were identified only as dance or floorshow bands, and all or most of the nightclubs listed were in white parts of town. Further, all but a few of these orchestras, unlike the celebrated black bands today associated with Kansas

City jazz, have vanished into obscurity.[29] Thus it seems reasonable to infer that of the 47 bands named in The Star during the half-year period, only a handful, at most, could claim to be part of the city's true, indigenous jazz culture.

The Star's coverage of nightclubs consisted mostly of non-bylined news/promotional stories (rarely with photographs) announcing current or upcoming orchestra and entertainment bookings. The term "news/promotional" is applied here to describe these stories' frequent mixture of straight information and formulaic, "hyped" language. A typical story, for instance, touted "Sol Bobrov's excellent music" at a downtown eatery, while another praised "Bonnie Lee Ryder, pretty and graceful accordian player...."[30]

During the focus period, 18 such stories, averaging 12 paragraphs long, appeared on The Star's Saturday entertainment pages as roundups of local nightclub offerings. These stories, however, seldom mentioned more than a dozen or so night spots, virtually all, as noted above, situated in white neighborhoods. Significantly, of the numerous bandleaders named in these Saturday roundups, only one, Bennie Moten, can be identified with certainty as a Kansas City jazz figure. Moten's famous band earned only a single mention as providing the music for "'Harlem Show Boat'....this week's all-Negro revue at the Harlem Nite Club."[31] "All-Negro revue" was the standard label for floorshows at the Harlem, which advertised weekly in The Star, was located somewhat outside the black district, and probably catered to an all-white crowd. (No ads for the club appeared in The Call.) The Harlem's house bandleader was one Emil Chaquette, whose name appears regularly in The Star's roundup pieces but who is not to be found in any of the jazz histories cited here. Still, the titles of some of Chaquette's shows, "Rhythm Madness," "Pepper Sauce Revue" and "Jazztime Revue," suggest that he may have been a bona fide local jazzman -- if so, the only Kansas City jazz performer mentioned regularly in The Star.[32]

In addition to the Saturday roundups, The Star during the focus period ran six items, three to five paragraphs long, each publicizing a single band. Only two of these items (Jan. 13, June 30) concerned a known Kansas City jazz figure, Andy Kirk, whose band had landed bookings in white ballrooms. Two other items (Jan. 27, June 30) announced engagements at a white downtown theater by world-famous black jazz stars Duke Ellington and Cab Calloway on national tours. The final two "briefs" (April 28, May 12) promoted local visits by the now-forgotten white touring bands of Ding Bell and Ted Fio-Rito.

If The Star was parsimonious in publicizing local black jazz, it was somewhat less so -- but only somewhat -- in reporting the passing of the era's most famous Kansas City bandleader. On the day Bennie Moten died, April 2, the paper granted him a Page 10 obituary just under the lead "obit" of a prominent local mother superior. The one-column headline consisted of a 12-point top line with a smaller second deck, and the obituary itself ran five paragraphs long. The piece noted high points in the career of this "widely known Negro orchestra leader," including his recording work and many local and touring appearances.[33] There was no mention of the funeral arrangements, nor did The Star (or The Times) subsequently cover the funeral.

On April 3, however, the deceased bandleader did receive further mention, this time in the "About Town" gossip column by Star entertainment writer Landon Laird. Laird's column often gave brief mention to musicians, almost none of whom are familiar today. This time, however, he devoted a long paragraph to the fact that Moten's death had brought "a real blow to the Negroes of Kansas City." After a few sentences about Moten's musical triumphs, Laird described a purportedly factual dialogue between "two Negroes with tear-filled eyes." Their lines are in dialect: "'He's prob'ly happy,' one said reverently. 'He's jus' changed his piano for a harp, that's all.'...'I'll bet he's the best harpist they is there,' the other answered loyally."[34]

Kansas City's nightlife scene was also the setting of five crime news stories in The Star. Two of these reported the bombing and subsequent closing of a local night spot (Jan. 3 and 6), two concerned the gangland-style shooting of a club owner (March 11 and 14), and one discussed an effort to eliminate illegal slot machines from clubs (March 31). None of these stories, however, mentioned jazz music or musicians.

As for jazz reviews, predictably none appeared in the afternoon Star. Staff members covering the arts worked for both The Star and The Times and might publish news or feature stories in either edition. But actual reviews of performances were always targeted for the morning Times.[35]

During the focus period of this study, The Kansas City Times did indeed publish reviews of 42 live shows and concerts: 21 of plays or vaudeville entertainments, 14 of classical music concerts, six of dance performances, and one of a jazz show. The single jazz event, however, did not involve Kansas City jazz but was a stage production by Duke Ellington's touring orchestra in a downtown theater. Landon Laird's eight-paragraph review, hardly long on critical rigor or detailed analysis, was an all-out rave full of such vague generalities as: "Ellington's piano playing also is something to talk about...," and "The audiences yesterday couldn't get enough of ['Ebony Rhapsody'], nor of the singing later of Ivy Anderson."[36]

The Times also ran a half-dozen straight news stories that touched peripherally on the subjects of nightlife or jazz. Three of these concerned crimes (Feb. 18, March 11 and March 27), one described New Year's Eve revelries (Jan. 1), and two reported the outcries of respectable people against recreational vice and jazz (Jan. 14, June 7). Perhaps to their relief, no Kansas City jazz bands or musicians were named in any of these stories. In short, Times coverage of the town's jazz music and jazz musicians was nil.

Unlike its sister paper, The Times gave no mention to Bennie Moten's death. Nor did either The Times or The Star devote opinion-page space to an editorial eulogizing the bandleader. What did appear in The Times, incidentally, was an editorial in praise of a recently deceased African-American stage actor, Richard B. Harrison.[37] One tempting if unsupported conjecture is that a black Broadway star, at least in death, was deemed worthier of commentary than a black jazz star

As anticipated, local jazz made the entertainment pages of Kansas City's African-American weekly, The Call, far more often than it made The Star. Of the 26 issues of The Call examined in this study, the majority -- 17 -- carried one or more stories or small items promoting Kansas City jazz bands and the night spots where they played.[38]

Nevertheless, it can be argued that the space and effort The Call devoted to the city's jazz scene was far from commensurate with the quality and sheer abundance of an art that was being performed practically next door.[39]

Call stories, for example, mentioned only seven of the dozens of night clubs and dance halls offering jazz in the city's black district.[40] One explanation may be that some of the leading black-run clubs (it is unclear how many) had a whites-only policy.[41] Yet 10 of the 17 night spots that advertised to The Call's black readership were ignored in the paper's news columns. And it seems likely there were numerous other places in that densely packed nightclub zone that catered to blacks but never made the news.

The publicizing of individual jazz artists was similarly uneven. The town's most famous bandleaders during the focus period, Moten, Kirk and Leonard, were featured from five to nine times each in promotional items or reviews. But some of the more widely admired musicians showed up only once (Count Basie and Mary Lou Williams) or not at all (Lester Young, Buster Smith, Ben Webster, Herschel Evans, Pete Johnson and Big Joe Turner). Five other musicians associated with Kansas City jazz were mentioned only as among the pallbearers at Moten's funeral.[42] (It is possible, of course, that some of the top musicians were on extended tour or were playing "gigs" with out-of-town bands during the months covered in this study.)

In all, the paper published 27 news/promotional items publicizing Kansas City bands, night spots or upcoming jazz events. Of these, 18 were one to five paragraphs long (averaging three paragraphs) under one-column, 18-point headlines; the others ran three to seven paragraphs under more visible two-column heads of 24- or 30-point type.

Actual staff involvement in jazz coverage appears to have been very slight. The Call's present editor/publisher, Lucile Bluford, was a reporter on the paper in 1935 and recalls that she and her fellow writers were mostly kept too busy handling racial and civil-rights news to deal with such frivolities as night life. It is Bluford's theory that entertainment publicists rather than Call staff members wrote most of the items promoting jazz.[43] While the actual authorship can never be known, Bluford's theory is supported by the ballyhooing tone of the prose: "Besides the scintillating music of Bennie [Moten], the old maestro, there will be entertainment features galore...." "A thrill a minute is the motto at the Eastside Musicians' Sunset Club." "Paseo Hall will be all a-glitter with its new decorations, new floors, confetti, balloons, and last, but by no means least, the sweet music."[44]

There is intriguing evidence, however, that at least one Call staffer did do some writing about jazz. Two stories, a locally written feature about Duke Ellington's "aide de camp" and a review of a major jazz show, are signed with the initials "L.H.H."[45] Coincidentally, two writers with those initials were on the staff at the time, L. Herbert Henegan and Leon H. Hardwick. Editor Bluford believes the writer was Hardwick, who, she recalls, occasionally handled some entertainment news.[46]

While The Call's jazz coverage certainly had its considerable gaps and shortcomings, at least the paper acknowledged the art's presence both locally and elsewhere. From January through June, for instance, it ran 12 short items, two photographs and one 12-paragraph feature (the interview piece on Ellington's aide) about the musical activities of non-local jazz artists.

More notably, on three occasions The Call recognized major local jazz shows by publishing feature/reviews -- that is, stories that combined "color" description and opinion.[47] Ranging from six to eight paragraphs long, they display a writing style -- long on superlatives, devoid of negatives -- that seems aimed at boosting the musicians rather than analyzing the quality of their work. "Just an eyeful of the bevy of brownskin beauties [tap dancers] was worth the price of admission," wrote the reviewer of the Musicians Annual Ball on March 15. Wrote "L.H.H." in a May 24 review: "What little moisture [from the rainy night] came through the windows was dried immediately by the heat generated from torrid rhythms of four crack bands...."[48]

Unlike The Star and The Times, The Call gave extensive Page One play to the death of Bennie Moten, who had long since established his primacy among the city's jazz bandleaders. Moten died on April 2, leaving The Call with a familiar dilemma of weekly papers -- to treat the death as fresh news in the next issue, April 5, or to go with a "second-day"-style lead. The Call chose the fresh-news approach for its regional Southwest edition, announcing the death in 10 paragraphs under an eight-column banner head.[49] For its city edition of April 5, the paper gave the story a new lead, a one-column but prominent top-of-the-page headline, and more space: It began with the funeral arrangements and devoted 19 paragraphs to recounting the musical successes of this "dean of orchestra leaders." (And all of this without once using the word "jazz"!)[50] Finally, in the following week, both editions carried the same 18-paragraph front-page story describing the funeral in painstaking detail.[51]

At least The Call could take credit for having given Kansas City's best-known jazz figure his post-mortem due. The Kansas City Star and Times could make no such claim, but then there's little reason to suppose their editors would have cared. Veteran book critic Theodore M. O'Leary, who was a Times reporter in 1935, surmises that top management figures of the era, such as company president George Longan and managing editor Roy A. Roberts, "didn't give a damn about [jazz]...couldn't care less." As for Star and Times music reviewers, O'Leary says he believes they had neither the knowledge of jazz nor sufficient interest in the art to consider it worth covering. Minna K. Powell, who did most of the papers' music reviews in 1935, "was a lovely old lady, but she was a very unworldly person.... I never heard her mention [jazz], and she never wrote anything about it."[52]

For whatever reasons, none of the three papers, white or black, attempted during the focus period to define or evaluate local jazz through in-depth news stories, features or columns of serious criticism. None profiled any of the city's leading jazz practitioners, unless one counts The Call's Moten obituary as a profile. None even offered comprehensive listings of the places where Kansas City jazz was happening or of the bands that were making it happen.

Where The Star and The Times were concerned, says O'Leary, the root cause for neglect was simply an institutional racism, "just indifference to the black people and maybe even a hostility." The papers "really pretended that black people didn't exist.... And it was very much in keeping with the general attitude. It was just the way the city was set up. Blacks lived in their section of town.... They couldn't go to the [downtown Hotel] Muehlebach, they had to sit upstairs at the movie houses, and they couldn't go into [a white] bar.... [The Star and The Times] simply were a reflection of the city."

O'Leary discounts the suggestion that a further reason for the papers' neglect was the music's links with lewd living and gangsterism: "I don't really think so. I never had any sense of that." What O'Leary does propose, however, is a bit of revisionist history: While popular legend holds that the city's jazz eminence was fully recognized and celebrated at the time by throngs of fans, white as well as black, "to my observation that simply wasn't true." Only a "hard core" of white jazz lovers would venture into the African-American district to hear the indigenous music. "I'm just saying that jazz was not as important at its height as people like to pretend now."[53]

The Call, too, appears to have undervalued Kansas City jazz, but for a different reason: "Jazz was right here....on a day-to-day basis," recalls editor Bluford. The musicians "were here every day....everyday stuff." In short, they were simply too familiar to seem newsworthy; they were taken for granted. "Maybe [jazz} didn't mean as much to us [then] as it does now."

Asked whether Call editors found the jazz scene too morally unsavory for serious attention, Bluford replies: "Beneath them? No, I don't think so. But I do think we had to concentrate...on discrimination, segregation, we had to fight that all the time. And we hadn't enough time to do that." In 1935, she says, "We didn't have people on the city desk who were free to go out and just write features and things, and we don't now. In 1935 I doubt that we even had a person in charge of entertainment."[54]

The result: a large part of that entertainment, the jazz part, was covered indifferently, at best.

Summary and Conclusion

Just as newspapers have often shunted the arts to the back of the line in terms of news priority, Kansas City jazz was barely in line at all.

The dominant white papers virtually ignored it. While snippets of news about jazz bookings appeared in The Kansas City Star, the morning Times paid Kansas City jazz no attention whatsoever. The black-run Call did better by the city's great bands and musicians, but its coverage, mainly promotional items that might have been written by publicists, was superficial and far from complete.

In the distance of time, one cannot know with certainty the reasons why Kansas City jazz attracted so little serious attention by the local press. Based on the limited evidence provided by the two journalists who worked on the white and African-American papers in 1935, the controlling factors were:

* First, an institutional racism by The Star and The Times, which largely shut out news and discussion of any aspect of the African-American community, let alone jazz.

* Second, a lack of awareness, by The Call as well as the white press, of the innovative brilliance and musicianship displayed by Kansas City jazz musicians. The Call, which had no history of jazz coverage under the previous editorship of Roy Wilkins, apparently took the music for granted as

commonplace stuff. Star and Times editors appear to have been ignorant of, and indifferent to, an art that was flowering in the city's black district.

- Third, a lack of available or qualified writers. With its priorities on other kinds of news, The Call lacked the resources to devote substantial effort to covering jazz. Kansas City Star and Times music reviewers seem to have had little or no knowledge of, or interest in, the art. The one jazz review published in The Times (like the three feature-reviews that appeared in The Call) was far from expertly done.

- Fourth, readership considerations. Editors of the white-run papers may have perceived -- if they gave the matter any thought at all -- that most of their readers knew little and cared less about the bluesy, driving music of Kansas City's jazz greats. (That The Star and The Times might have developed reader interest through skilled and exciting coverage of jazz presumably did not occur to editors.)

For these and perhaps other reasons, Kansas City papers largely missed the story -- and provided an object lesson of value to this day. While coverage of the arts throughout America has improved greatly in recent decades (it's hard to imagine any local paper's missing the jazz story today), it can still be thwarted by the same editorial indifference, unawareness and prejudice that prevailed in Kansas City, circa 1935. This would seem especially likely if many persons considered the art in question, as some considered jazz, to be morally subversive.

As the press fell short in covering Kansas City jazz, there were two losers:

The first was the public, denied full awareness of a dazzling creative moment in the life of the city. It is a fair guess that jazz would have attracted a broader middle-class audience, both white and African-American, if newspapers had given their readers more -- and more informed -- news and commentary about the art.

The second loser was history, forever denied potentially valuable journalistic perspectives on a music that helped celebrate and define a culture.

Endnotes

1. Ross Russell, Jazz Style in Kansas City and the Southwest (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1971): 84, 106-109, 114-115, 165.

2. Stephan Palmie, "Jazz Culture in the Thirties: Kansas City Here I Come!" Jazz Forum 16 (1984): 62-63.

3. Russell: 17, 19.

4. Nathan W. Pearson, jr., Goin' to Kansas City (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1987): 108.

5. Interestingly, the Journal-Post in 1937 may have published the first long story about Kansas City jazz. Written by Dave Dexter, who worked on the paper briefly before joining Down Beat, the article was picked up by Billboard to become, Dexter related, "the first national publicity ever given KC music." See Ronald G. Welburn, "American Jazz Criticism, 1914-1940," diss., New York U., 1983: 201.

6. These boundaries are the writer's best guess based on the addresses, where known, of leading black jazz clubs identified in histories. Students of Kansas City jazz disagree somewhat on the exact locations where jazz was at its busiest and hottest. Russell: 18, singles out the intersections of 12th Street and the Paseo and 18th and the Paseo. Musician Charles Goodwin, quoted in Pearson: 110, recalls "mostly joints" along 18th Street from Charlotte to Prospect. Charles W. Sherrer in "Jazz in Kansas City," Music Journal, May 1970: 29, calls 18th and Vine the "center of gravity as far as jazz was concerned.")

7. Russell: 111-112.

8. For a definition of jazz see Leonard Feather, The Encyclopedia of Jazz (New York: Horizon Press, 1955): 49-66. The author, a jazz historian and critic, acknowledges that "Where jazz begins and popular music ends" is a difficult question to answer. "The difference lies in the rhythmic interpretation, and in the presence in the jazz arrangement of passages left open for improvisation. Improvisation has always been the life blood of jazz.... [The] elements essential to jazz may be said to be syncopation, improvisation and inspiration."

9. Letter included in Ronald G. Welburn, "American Jazz Criticism, 1914-1940," diss., New York U., 1983: 201.

10. Welburn: 8, 12.

11. Welburn: 141-157, 208, 215. Reviewers for African-American papers included Dave Peyton of the Chicago Defender, Dan Burley of the New York Amsterdam News, Billy Rowe of the Pittsburgh Courier, Cliff MacKay of the Atlanta Daily World, and Frank Marshall Davis of the Norfolk Journal and Guide. Among the white critics were John Hammond of the Brooklyn Eagle (later with Down Beat), Paul Bowles of the New York Herald Tribune, Helen Oakley of the Chicago Herald and Examiner, George T. Simon of Metronome, B. H. Haggin of The New Republic and Dave Dexter of Down Beat.

12. "Nazi Germany Passes Ban on Radio Jazz as Harmful to Culture," The New York Times, 13 October 1935: II and III, 3:7.

13. Kathy J. Ogren, "Performance Crossroads: The Significance of the Jazz Controversy," diss., Johns Hopkins U., 1985: 14.

14. Ogren: 237.

15. "Jazz Called a Monster," The Kansas City Times, 7 June 1935: 3.

16. "Pastors Find Open Vice," The Kansas City Times, 14 January 1935: 3.

17, "Let's Have Decency!" The Kansas City Times, 21 March 1935: 20.

18. The Call, 8 March 1935: 11.

19. Quoted in Welburn: 208.

20. George R. Burg, personal interview, 3 June 1993.

21. Palmie: 63.

22. Feather's Encyclopedia of Jazz, which contains 1,065 biographies of jazz figures, identifies no white artists as central to K.C.'s jazz culture in the '20s and '30s. In the sketch on white jazz star Jack Teagarden, Feather: 295, does observe that the trombonist played briefly in Kansas City in the mid-'20s. That episode is barely mentioned in Russell: 120-128, which associates Teagarden with the "Texas school" of jazz.

23. Russell: 19. Also Theodore M. O'Leary, personal interview, 3 June 1993.

24. Pearson: 114, offers a succinct if simplistic description of the city's dominant jazz style, known as "Kansas City swing." It was marked by "strong 4/4 rhythm, fluid soloists, and, most importantly, the riff.... A strong feel for the blues was fundamental...."

25. Russell: 120-121.

26. Russell: 23.

27. Theodore M. O'Leary, personal interview, 3 June 1993.

28. "New Tunes for Dancers," The Kansas City Star," 23 February 1935: 7; "Bands to Open Spaces," Star, 22 June 1935: 3; "Bennie Moten Is Dead," Star, 2 April 1935: 10; "It Might Be Jazz" (editorial), The Kansas City Times, 26 February 1935: 16; "Jazz Called a Monster," Times, 7 June 1935: 3.

29. White jazz venues and leading white bands that played jazz are discussed in Charles W. Sherrer, "Jazz in Kansas City," Music Journal, May 1970: 61, and Russell: 19.

30. "Dance Bands Hold On," The Kansas City Star 16 February 1935: 7; "Dance to New Tunes," Star, 23 March 1935: 7.

31. "Night Clubs Step Up," The Kansas City Star, 5 January 1935: 4.

32. "A Week-End for Clubs," The Kansas City Star, 20 April 1935: 10; "New Tunes for Dancers," Star, 18 May 1935: 5; "Bands to Open Spaces," Star, 22 June 1935: 3.

33. "Bennie Moten Is Dead," The Kansas City Star, 2 April 1935: 10.

34. "L.L." (Landon Laird) "About Town," The Kansas City Star, 3 April 1935: 13.

35. George R. Burg, personal interview, 2 March 1994.

36. "Ellington Brings Heat," The Kansas City Times, 2 February 1935: 4.

37. "A Great Negro Actor Dies," The Kansas City Times, 15 March 1935: 20.

38. The Call, 25 January, 1 February, 1 March, 8 March, 15 March, 22 March, 29 March, 12 April, 26 April, 3 May, 10 May, 17 May, 24 May, 7 June, 14 June, 21 June, 28 June, 1935.

39. The term is used metaphorically. According to longtime Call editor Lucile Bluford (personal interview, 21 February 1994), The Call's office in 1935 was near 18th and Troost, five blocks west of the legendary jazz intersection of 18th and Vine.

40. Labor Temple, Dreamland Hall, Paseo Hall, the Night Hawk Tavern, the East Side Musicians' Sunset Club, Lincoln Hall and Penrod (a "pleasure resort").

41. Pearson: 106n4, writes that "Most of the better nightclubs of the period, even those run by blacks, were for white patrons exclusively." What is meant by "most" or "the better nightclubs" is not explained.

42. "Thousands at Funeral for Bennie Moten," The Call, 12 April 1935: 1. The full lineup of pallbearers, all members of Moten's orginal band: bandleaders Harlan Leonard and Thamon Hayes, clarinetist Woody Walder, trumpeters Ed Lewis and Booker Washington, banjoist Leroy Berry, bassist Vernon Page.

43. Lucile Bluford, personal interview, 31 July 1993.

44. "Bennie Moten to Play for Big Sunday Night Stomp," The Call, 25 January 1935: 13; "Musicians' Sunset Club Is Show Place of City," The Call, 22 March 1935: 9; "Musicians Will Celebrate Juneteenth With Dancing," The Call, 14 June 1935: 13.

45. "Answering Duke Ellington's Fan Mail Is Big Job in Itself," The Call, 8 February 1935: 11; "Bands Turn on the Heat at Dance at Labor Temple," The Call, 24 May 1935: 11.

46. Bluford, personal interview, 21 February 1994.

47. "Record Crowd Celebrates At Musicians Annual Ball," The Call, 15 March 1935: 11; "Labor Temple Jammed to Hear Earl Hines, Mills Bros.," The Call, 25 April 1935: 8; "Bands Turn on the Heat at Dance at Labor Temple," The Call, 24 May 1935: 11.

48. "Record Crowd Celebrates," The Call, 15 March; "Bands Turn on the Heat," The Call, 24 May.

49. "Bennie Moten, Band Leader, Dies," The Call, Southwest Edition, 5 April 1935: 1.

50. "Funeral for Bennie Moten Is Tomorrow," The Call, City Edition, 5 April 1935: 1.

51. "Thousands at Funeral for Bennie Moten," The Call, 12 April 1935: 1.

52. O'Leary, personal interview.

53. O'Leary, personal interview.

54. Bluford, personal interview, 31 July 1993.

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DISCOVERING A MID-NINETEENTH CENTURY DRIVE FOR JOURNALISTIC PROFESSIONALIZATION

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The picture is all too familiar. The media are under attack. Journalists are accused of having greater concern for personal gain than for the public good. Sensational nationwide scandals reveal media outlets are more interested in advertising dollars than ethical standards. The media do little to ease racial tensions which rage throughout the nation.

A critique of today's media? It could be, but it is also a description of American journalism in the mid-nineteenth century. The war that pitted brother against brother raised partisan journalism to a fine art.[1] Advertisements for snake oil almost singularly support some newspapers while merchant's secret payments bribe publishers for complimentary editorials.[2] The large numbers of untrained war correspondents have shown the world just how badly journalists can behave;[3] journalism credibility appears to be at an all time low.

How did journalists respond to the situation? A student unschooled in the traditional paradigms of journalism might venture a guess that journalists may have attempted to professionalize as doctors, lawyers and the clergy had done. But traditional historical accounts would certainly rule that idea out, as traditional accounts place the start of professionalization efforts at the beginning of the twentieth century. Yet new information suggests that some journalists did attempt to professionalize in the mid-nineteenth century.[4] This helps provide a framework of understanding of how journalists in the nineteenth century were influenced by the international efforts professionalize many occupations. Too often researchers look at how journalists in times past acted, without looking at what the underlying motivations were. This provides a context by examining how mid-nineteenth century journalists saw themselves in relation to society around them.

The source for this information is the minutes of the Missouri Press Association (hereafter MPA) beginning at the group's inception in 1867.[5] These minutes indicate that in the mid-nineteenth century, the MPA members not only saw themselves as professionals in the classical sense of doctors, lawyers and the clergy,[6] but after forming a professional association, also sought to further professionalize by pressing for university journalism education,[7] and ethical standards. This paper suggests the possibility that a new paradigm of journalistic professionalization is needed. The researcher will attempt to demonstrate this by providing an overview of professionalization, a background of the traditional account of journalistic professionalization and a presentation of evidence which suggests a new paradigm of journalistic professionalization. This paper does not pretend to offer a definitive outlook but to demonstrate how initial research offers new information, which calls for further research to help determine whether the group of journalists studied herein were typical or an anomaly.

The Rise of Professionalization

Professionalization began with the three occupations which evolved into the first professions.[8] Medicine, law, and the clergy[9] had their origins in England and gained status through organization and self-regulation.[10] A brief review of the rise of these professions is relevant in that MPA members later compared themselves to these traditional professions. The three traditional professions also established a pattern that has been used to evaluate other occupations that were attempting professionalize. Additionally, a review provides a cultural context as to the importance of professions during the Industrial Revolution.

Professionalization of law started during medieval times when attorneys began to be subject to a higher standard than other occupations. As early as 1292 the canon of Archbishop Peckham mandated English attorneys have at least three years of specialized training.[11] Later The Act of 1729 mandated that attorneys had to have specific qualifications such as passing an examination and having an affidavit that attested to a five year apprenticeship under another attorney.[12] This legislation came about because the practice of law was falling into disrepute because of unscrupulous practitioners.[13] In response to The Act of 1729 attorneys saw the need to promote professionalism and the first professional law association was formed in 1739.[14] According to W.J. Reader's Professional Men, the formation of the law association helped establish professional associations as a characteristic of a professionalizing occupation[15]

Later, in 1836, an agreement among judges in England mandated that lawyers pass an examination before they would be allowed to practice law in the courts.[16] This increased the need for organized education and in 1854 the inns were established as the "colleges of a legal university."[17] Attorneys formed the Legal Education Association in 1869 to further assure that legal education was adequate.[18] Thus, the legal profession in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries helped establish several traditions for professionalization, such as associations, licensing, codes of ethics and organized education. American lawyers followed a similar development; bar associations were formed in the eighteenth century but the profession did not become more refined until after the Civil War.[19]

The professionalization of medicine followed a similar evolution. In medieval England university educators did not consider medicine one of the seven liberal arts; but some students did study medicine in medieval universities and degrees in medicine were granted.[20] As early as 1353 in England there were discussions of mandated university training for all medical practitioners.[21] Such discussions would later translate into mandated licenses for all practitioners of medicine by 1518.[22]

Historian Daniel Calhoun states that by the mid-nineteenth century physicians fought a loss of public credibility, claiming, "The New York Academy of Medicine...physicians had organized to elevate the standing of their profession and to fight the forces of quackery and medical heresy."[23] As lawyers had done earlier, physicians sought to overcome this problem by forming local and national professional associations.[24]

While the medical and legal professions increased in public credibility in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the clergy saw little need to raise their already high level of status.[25] The clergy had already established a system of organization before any of the others.[26]

The three traditional professions had set the example. Other occupations sought to professionalize as well[27] and followed the pattern set by the three "traditional" professions.[28] According to sociologist Magali Sarfatti-Larson, "The professions that were formed in America were clearly inspired by their European models."[29]

It was not long before the general public became aware of the force professions had become. Attorney Byerly Thomson helped explain the importance of professions to the public in 1857 through his book, Choice of a Profession. He wrote:

> The importance of the professions and the professional classes can hardly be overrated. They form the head of the middle class, maintain its tone and independence, keep up to the mark its standard of morality, and direct its intelligence.[30]

The interest in professions was felt in Missouri as well. One example of this is an 1866 essay contest for Missouri teachers of which the prize was a Webster's Quarto Dictionary. The topic was "Our Profession."[31]

While the ideals of professionalization were popular in the nineteenth century, it had not been a subject of study.[32] Toward the end of the nineteenth century, however, German social scientist Max Weber suggested the use of a concept called "ideal types"[33] to explain bureaucratic behavior.[34] From these roots sprang the interest in and the study of professionalization by social scientists.[35]

In 1915 Abraham Flexner wrote the first history and discussion on professionalization,[36] "Is Social Work a Profession?,"[37] in a widely read publication called School and Society.[38] But it was not until 1933 that a detailed history of professionalization appeared.[39] At that time sociologists A.M. Carr-Saunders and P.A. Wilson set the foundation for future discussion of professionalization with the publication of the book The Professions.[40]

As a result of The Professions, Carr-Saunders has been considered one of the founding fathers in the study of professions. In the widely quoted book Professionalization, published in 1966, Harold Vollmer and Donald Mills describe Carr-Saunders as the "first social scientist to analyze systematically the transition of diverse occupations in terms of the process of professionalization."[41] The Professions is still highly regarded as a relevant time-tested classic work on professionalization.[42]

Defining Professionalization

The importance of The Professions stems from the fact that it documented the early evolution of professionalization even though little source material existed.[43] Carr-

Saunders and Wilson also faced the lack of a definition of professionalism,[44] a problem has not been easily solved as sociologists have consistently had difficulties defining it.[45] In 1928 Carr-Saunder's gave a rather vague definition of professionalism:

> A profession may perhaps be defined as an occupation based upon specialized intellectual study and training the purpose of which is to supply skilled service or advice to others for a definite fee or salary.[46]

Carr-Saunders was not entirely correct in claiming no attempt at defining professionalism had been made. While a mid-nineteenth century American dictionary simply defines a profession as a "vocation" or "occupation,"[47] an English dictionary from the same time period defines a profession as a "calling; vocation; known employment; (used especially of divinity, physic and law)."[48] It was not until 1915 that anyone attempted to define a professional in detail. In his School and Society article Abraham Flexner had attempted to define the term with six characteristics: (1) a sense of individual responsibility, (2) a basis of science and learning, (3) a practical use of specialized knowledge, (4) a sharing of common techniques throughout the group, (5) a form of self organization, (6) a sense of altruism.[49] Components of this definition can be seen in future elaborations on the definition. Ernest Greenwood put forth another definition of professionalization in 1957,[50] characterizing a profession as having: (1) systematic theory, (2) authority, (3) community sanction, (4) ethical codes and (5) a culture.[51]

Sociologist Everett Cherrington Hughes' 1958 book Men and Their Work fuses several sub-characteristics into the two professional characteristics of specialized training and maintaining standards of conduct. Hughes states training in beginning professions need not be connected to a university,[52] and sees a connection with university education as a later stage of professionalization and not a start in itself, commenting:

> In time, the training schools may seek and gain connection with universities, some of which compete for students and for the prestige and money accorded the new profession. At this point, there may be a new wave of later seekers of special training; as in nursing, where a whole generation of leaders sought academic degrees some years after having completed their nonacademic professional training.[53]

Hughes also lumps a need for a license in the category of training. While some professions actually require a certificate of license to practice their profession, Hughes states the training can constitute a license by itself, commenting: "The standardized schooling and training become, in the successful case, effectively the license to work at the occupation."[54]

Sociologist Talcott Parsons pared down a definition in a treatise in 1968. Parson's definition included: (1) formal training, (2) a high level of skill and (3) control to ensure social responsibility.[55] This is close to Carr-Saunder's 1928 definition that a profession is an occupation with the "training" and "skill" necessary to supply "service" to others.[56]

In 1970 sociologist Wilbert Moore suggested an evaluation scale to define professionalization as a process. Moore's defining stages of progressive professional development included attainment as: (1) an occupation, (2) a calling, (3) a formalized organization, (4) an organization requiring education, (5) an organization with a service orientation and (6) an organization enjoying autonomy.[57] Thus, the highest stage of professionalization was accorded to organizations which had attained complete professional autonomy.[58] Sociologist William Goode had discussed the importance of autonomy to professional development in 1957, but not had developed it into definition of a profession.[59] Several elements of Moore's definition have roots in Carr-Saunders definition in that, like Carr-Saunders, Moore saw professions as requiring training and being "service" oriented. Thus, the characteristics of a profession that have remained consistent are a professional association, a system of education and altruism as exemplified through a code of ethics.

A more recent emphasis, however, has been the focus of professionalization as a control over conditions of work. Magali Sarfatti Larson espouses this view in The Rise of Professionalism. But even Larson sees the mid-nineteenth century concept of professionalism as one of "gaining status through work,"[60] a view shared by Everett Hughes.[61]

The Traditional Account of Journalistic Professionalization

Just exactly when journalistic "professionalization" began has been difficult to answer. Part of the problem lies in the lack of research into the history of journalistic professionalization. Discussion of the professionalization of journalism in literature on professionalization is conspicuous by its absence. Carr-Saunders and Wilson devoted a few pages to the subject in 1933 in The Professions.[62] However, they wrote about a lack of professionalization in journalism, commenting:

> So little activity is manifested by journalists in these directions that it might be thought that desire for reform was altogether lacking....It seems that somehow or other the regard for the honour of the profession has never found effective means of expression through associations. Perhaps the impossibility of controlling the main lines of development makes journalists feel so much at the mercy of powers beyond their reach that they have never taken up problems where their influence might be of some effect.[63]

Carr-Saunders and Wilson confined their research only to institutions in Great Britain, however, and activity in the

United States would probably not have been researched or discussed. In Professional Men, sociologist W.J. Reader also made a passing mention of journalistic professionalization in 1966. Reader quoted an 1859 article which claimed that journalism was "not within the list of professions which give the conventional standing of a gentlemen to their members."[64]

The concept of journalistic professionalization gets similar treatment in the 1973 book The Professions: Roles and Rules by sociologist Wilbert Moore. Moore's only reference to journalistic professionalization was the claim that journalism graduate schools had never demonstrated that their professional training was superior to "on-the-job experience," claiming:[65]

> Yet these schools have yet to establish their exclusive command over careers, or even to demonstrate that formal training is clearly superior to mere experience in business or public life. The same is true of graduate schools of journalism.[66]

Journalism literature provides more information on the beginnings of journalistic professionalization. However, even the journalistic scholars are contradictory. John Merrill, in an 1986 article in Journal of Mass Media Ethics, claimed journalists did not begin to call themselves professionals until after World War II.[67] On the other hand, in contrast to Merrill's view, Mary Cronin and James McPherson claim journalists commonly referred to themselves as professionals as early as the beginning of the twentieth century.[68] Cronin and McPherson also present a lengthy list of references where journalists at the start of this century and thereafter referred to themselves as professionals.[69] Hazel Dicken-Garcia in Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America places the starting point of professionalism at about 1925, stating:

> Newspapers established codes of ethics; journalism courses, departments, and schools were founded; textbooks were written; and associations were formed to provide at least a form of social control over press conduct and practices.[70]

Will Irwin in Collier's magazine,[71] Sidney Kobre in Development of American Journalism,[72] Bert Bostrom in Talent, Truth and Energy,[73] Michael Schudson in Discovering the News,[74] James Melvin Lee in History of American Journalism[75] and Marion Marzolf in Civilizing Voices[76] also have viewed journalistic professionalization as a twentieth century phenomenon. Marzolf describes the start of journalistic professionalization in a chapter titled, "On the Road to Professionalism: 1900-1911," remarking:

> Efforts to reform journalism in the pre-World War I era were strengthened by the formation of the first journalism departments and schools and by the start of professional organizations to promote common ideals and values. Many of the founders of these institutions saw journalism reaching the status of law and medicine. This led to an emphasis on ethical codes of conduct, standardization of academic requirement, and licensing for professional educated journalists.[77]

In a 1984 article entitled, "The Power and the Image: Professionalism and the Communications Revolution," Douglas Birkhead also places professionalization at the start of the twentieth century.[78] Birkhead discusses the start of journalistic professionalization again in a 1986 article entitled, "News Media Ethics and the Management of Professionals."[79] In a 1986 article entitled, "Professional Ethics, The University, and The Journalist," William May also placed the start of journalistic professionalization at the beginning of this century, stating:

> The general turnaround occurred in the early twentieth century. By 1904 Joseph Pulitzer had endowed the Columbia School of Journalism...and by 1913 the Columbia School of Journalism had opened its doors.[80]

In all of these sources professionalization is credited as having occurred after the nineteenth century, at least thirty years after the start of the MPA. These scholars believe that journalistic professionalization occurred in the twentieth century because of the introduction of professional journalism schools, the introduction of codes of ethics and the foundation of what traditional literary sources call the first professional associations.

Evidence for an Earlier Beginning of Journalistic Professionalization

The MPA minutes, however, appear to contradict the notion that journalists did not refer to themselves as professionals before the twentieth century. In examining the MPA minutes 1867-1876, the researcher has found that MPA members did not refer to journalists or MPA members as belonging to a "trade" in a single instance. However, the minutes do contain 25 references to the term "profession" in relation to journalism or to the fact that MPA members belonged to a profession.[81]

The context of the references during this time period is also persuasive in that they frequently refer to elements of professionalization or to the traditional professions. Some examples of this can be found in the following three references to professionalism in the opening remarks at the annual MPA convention held in St. Louis. In a speech on May 19th, 1869, Norman J. Colman[82] refers to professionalism three times:

> The power of the press is now pretty well understood and by none better than the editorial profession - but it is doubtful whether the duties and responsibilities of the Press are generally well appreciated. Like all other professions the Editor has grave and responsible duties devolving upon it - but, unlike others, certain prescribed qualifications have not been prescribed before entering the discharge of professional duty.[83]

Colman could speak with such professional authority as he was professionally certified in teaching and law, and had worked with professional clergy at a seminary.[84] Colman promoted one of the tenets of professionalism, schools of professional journalism education. Colman refers to journalism, or "the Editorial," and states:

> But any particular training, or course of study, or lectures, or schools or colleges to prepare young men for the most important of all professions--the Editorial--have never been heard of....Each member of the profession has now to learn for himself....What other profession is of equal responsibility?[85]

Later, Colman directly states that professionalization was one of the reasons the MPA was organized. He said:

> Doubtless one of the leading objects [the founders] had in view in the organization of this association was to bring the members of the Press of this state into a closer and more intimate relationship with one another, that those social and professional courtesies might be cultivated that should exist among members of an honorable profession....It is not ourselves, alone, as a profession that are benefited, but the whole reading public....what a fearful responsibility rests upon the Editorial profession![86]

Thus, Colman emphasizes another tenet of the journalist's professional responsibility to society. In all, Colman uses the words "profession" or "professionalism" twelve times during the course of his speech. Two things are clear: Colman's belief that journalism was a profession because of its duties and responsibilities; Colman's belief that MPA members needed further professionalism through training. Speeches such as Colman's were accepted, and reinforced the concept of the MPA member's self identity as professionals and the organization as a professional association.

Other MPA members also discussed journalists as belonging to a profession as well. At the MPA convention in Sedalia on May 22, 1872,[87] St. Louis Journal of Agriculture[88] publisher John Marmaduke emphasized the concept, calling MPA members members of the "profession" of "journalism." Marmaduke spoke with the authority of a well known scholar, son of a prominent politician, former Major-General in the Confederate Army and later governor of Missouri.[89] In the oration, Marmaduke stated:

> Before discussing American journalism it may not be amiss to here take a very brief notice of the origin of the profession....New arts and sciences have given man his greatest blessings; and who can say how much of this is justly attributable to that profession of which we today are humble members.[90]

MPA members heard themselves referred to as members of a profession, year after year. For instance, in 1874, John Reid, a city official in Lexington, Missouri, welcomed the nearly two hundred MPA convention goers, representing approximately a hundred Missouri newspapers.[91] He stated the MPA's purpose remarking:

> We [the people of Lexington] understand you meet together in part for social intercourse, but chiefly in the interest and honor of the profession and art you honor and adorn.[92]

At that May 20, 1874 Lexington convention, MPA member Milo Blair commented on journalism as a profession six times in his convention address. Blair, an active charter member[93] and an editor and publisher of the Boonville Eagle[94] who conducted a "well managed office,"[95] became MPA president the following year.[96] He describes the occupation of journalism in his 1874 address as one requiring a high degree of specialized skill, a tenet of professionalism. Blair then compares journalism to the traditional professions of medicine and law:

> Journalism, is a profession different from any other, and a man must be well adapted in it to be successful. This is a reef on which so many wreck. Men mistake their calling. A lawyer or doctor quite clever with the pen, but a failure in his own profession, resorts to journalism, squibs a few weeks, but soon discovers that he is utterly unfitted for the business.[97]

Blair attempts to inspire MPA members with the ideals of a professional:

> To unsullied journalism shall our land look, and, to its trumpet tones, march with the noble and fair, in the van of civilization. Then brethren of the pen, in your loved and noble profession, "Press on!"[98]

The following year,[99] in an address called "The Philosophy of Local Journalism,"[100] Mark DeMotte[101] refers to journalists in general as belonging to a "profession" and specifically identifies MPA members as belonging to "our profession." He justifies his topic:

> Journals and journalists are often accused by those of other professions of talking too much about themselves. There is a maxim, I believe, to the effect that men talk best about that in which they are the most interested. We are most interested in ourselves and our profession, therefore, to talk best, we must talk about ourselves and our profession.[102]

During the annual 1876 address,[103] William Switzler[104] of the Columbia Statesman discussed professionalism directly. In reference to the past MPA orations "About the responsibilities and labors and sacrifices and difficulties of the editorial profession," Switzler comments:

> They have tended to elevate the character of the editorial profession...they have inspired us with new and loftier ambition, and quickened the dormant energies and flagging activities of professional life.[105]

Later, Switzler, in reference to the MPA members as professionals, remarked, "I shall present only a few thoughts, and in a plain, practical way, with the hope of at least benefiting the younger members of the profession."[106] These benefits included discussion on the "mission of journalism,"[107] "accuracy of statement"[108] and the "general conduct of the editorial department."[109]

Switzler adds even more references to professionalism by comparing journalists with non-journalists. He says:

> The unprofessional public believe, but the unprofessional public do not understand the subject, that writing editorials comprises the chief labor of the editor's life; whereas, the truth is, as every experienced journalist well knows, editorial writing, the mere composition of articles for the press, is the least of his appropriate work.[110]

Switzler goes on to explain that research and study are the appropriate characteristics of an editor.

At a 1879 meeting, Switzler reflects on his position concerning the press. Switzler says he had been of the opinion for a long time that journalism was a profession and therefore, a school of journalism should be established. He explains:

> I think that there are many cogent reasons in support of this conviction, long entertained and often propounded by myself, that editing newspapers is as much a profession as practicing law or medicine, and that a department of journalism ought to be established, and I have no doubt at no distant day will be established, in our own and other Universities.[111]

Switzler's statement that his belief in journalism education was long entertained and often propounded indicates that this was his own philosophy and goal during the first ten years of the MPA's existence.[112] In fact, 1879 was also the first year the University of Missouri offered a journalism course taught by Professor David R. McAnally, Jr. entitled, "History of Journalism--Lectures with Practical Explanations of Daily Newspaper Life."[113]

From the preceding references it is evident that this group of journalists identified themselves as belonging to a profession and to a professional journalist's association. As previously noted, traditional literature states that it was not until the twentieth century that journalists' self-descriptive use of the term "professional" occurred.[114]

But, it would appear that MPA members went beyond merely calling themselves professionals. Research indicates that the MPA was also actively attempting to further professionalize from the start. Norman J. Colman advocated university journalism education in 1869 as part of a need to professionalize, even before Robert E. Lee's ill received attempt at journalism education later that same year.[115] Colman told the MPA members in an oration:

> The Teacher, the Physician, the Lawyer, and the Divine, must each undergo a thorough prefatory course, before being permitted to enter his chosen career....But any particular training, or course of study, or lectures, or schools, or colleges to prepare young men for the most important of all professions--the Editorial--have never been heard of. That institutions of this kind could be established, and would be attended with the most beneficial results, can scarcely be doubted. Each member of the profession has now to learn for himself all of the duties devolving upon him.[116]

As previously stated, in 1879, William Switzler explained that the MPA had always supported university journalism education because journalism needed to be like the traditional professions.[117] Other references in the MPA minutes further indicate the MPA advocated university journalism education throughout the nineteenth century.[118]

The MPA minutes also indicate the MPA advocated standards of ethics in virtually every yearly oration during the first ten years of their existence and even proposed a list of four ethical standards, a code of ethics, in 1876. The following rules, listed under the heading, "The General Conduct of the Editorial Department," appears to be the first journalistic code of ethics proposed by a journalism association. The code states:

> *First*: Allow no temptation to secure your consent to the publication of articles long or short, in prose or poetry, original or selected, which are demoralizing in their character....
> *Second*: ....Give the substance. Omit the useless details....
> *Third*: ....As preliminary to profitable writing, and as a preparation for it, much reading and study is essential. Much brain-work, and often exhaustive research and more exhaustive thought, all unknown and quite frequently unappreciated by those who read newspapers....
> *Fourth*, and lastly: We are just entering upon the Centennial Presidential campaign....Great and singular perils and strong temptations to bitter words and partisan excesses, will environ the press. Let us illustrate a royal virtue by resisting them....while we are sometimes *partisans* we are always *patriots*--above all, that we are not only *editors*--but *gentlemen*.[119]

While, a literary magazine called the Public Ledger in 1864 appears to have been the first news organ to have a set of rules,[120] this MPA code appears to predate any other press association code of ethics. While one journalism historian states the Minnesota Press Association presented the first association press code, a list of six ethical principles, in 1888,[121] the above MPA code was presented in 1876.[122]

It is also worth noting that the MPA continued to emphasize journalism as a profession on par with doctors, lawyers and the clergy throughout the nineteenth century. For example, in 1884 Columbia Herald publisher E.W. Stephens stressed in an oration that journalism, "has become a profession."[123] Another clear example takes place in 1891. The speaker again is E.W. Stephens who has just been elected president of the National Editorial Association. In speaking to the MPA members Stephens states:

> But the journalist must realize that something more than natural and acquired qualifications for technical duties of his profession is essential....A disciplined mind is as essential to the editor as the lawyer, doctor or the college professor....Journalism is a profession--just as much as is law, medicine or theology.[124]

It is hard to imagine a clearer statement of comparison between journalism and the classical professions. Additionally, Stephens refers to journalism a profession 11 more times during the course of his oration.[125] This was a weighty speech considering Stephen's position. He was not only the editor of the MPA representing 625 newspapers and 3,000,000 readers,[126] he was also president of the National Editorial Association in 1891[127] and later helped lead the World's Press Congress.[128]

A New Perspective on Journalistic Professionalization

The findings of this research suggest that a new perspective of journalistic professionalization may be needed which places the start of journalistic professionalization in the mid-nineteenth century when the MPA members began a professional association.[129] The traditional paradigm which suggests that journalistic professionalization took place at the start of the twentieth century does not take into account that the formation of professional associations are usually considered the starting point of the professionalization process. In a lecture delivered at Oxford in 1928 sociologist A.M. Carr-Saunders commented:

> The history of the evolution of the professions brings a significant fact to light. As soon as a profession emerges, the practitioners are moved by the recognition of common interests to attempt to form a professional association.[130]

The initiation of press codes and the formation of professional university education is considered an important benchmark of professionalization but is not considered the starting point of the professionalization process by mainstream sociologists. This research reveals the MPA in the mid-nineteenth century exhibited the hallmarks of a professional association in referring to themselves as professionals, in many cases shunning the business side of their occupation in favor of emphasizing philosophical elements, emphasizing ethics and promoting formal education. Thus, the MPA could be seen as the starting point of a professionalization process that culminated in the twentieth century with the proliferation of journalism schools, press associations and codes of ethics.

Additionally, the findings of this paper support a more gradual process of professionalization than has been suggested by past researchers. The general concept of a gradual evolution of all professions is supported by sociologists such as A.M. Carr-Saunders, Wilbert Moore and Everett Cherrington Hughes who viewed professionalization as a process. For instance, in the 1933 book The Professions A.M. Carr-Saunders and P.A. Wilson note that professions normally progress gradually before attaining the highest levels of professional status. They wrote:

> Looking back on the story of the development of professional techniques and on the rise of professional associations, we have seen that evolution does not always proceed smoothly....The evolution of the legal and medical professions was anything but smooth.[131]

Sociologist Everett Cherrington Hughes in the 1958 book Men and Their Work emphasized the process as well, in posing the question:

> Let me only indicate that in my own studies I passed from the false question "Is this occupation a profession?" to the more fundamental one, "What are the circumstances in which the people in an occupation attempt to turn it into a profession, and themselves into professional people?" and "What are the steps by which they attempt to bring about identification with their valued model?[132]

Sociologist Wilbert Moore further defines the concept of professionalization as a process by using a scale to describe different levels of professional attainment. Moore states:

> In short, we suggest that professionalism should be properly be regarded as a scale rather than a cluster of

> attributes....We shall nevertheless, put forward this set of suggestions, being convinced that only in this way can the wondrous array of technical occupations be put in some kind of order, and, importantly, can the process of status enhancement be understood.[133]

Thus, a gradual process of journalistic professionalization beginning in the mid-nineteenth century and evolving toward the foundation of schools of journalism and press codes in the twentieth century is more consistent with the sociologically accepted patterns of professionalization than the traditional paradigm of sudden professional attainment in the twentieth century. This, in turn, underscores the possibility that a new paradigm of journalistic professionalization may be needed which places the start of the process in the mid-nineteenth century.

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[1] Philip Knightley, The First Casualty (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovonovich, 1975), 21.

[2] Alfred McClung Lee, The Daily Newspaper in America (New York: The Macmillan Company), 320.

[3] Knightley, The First Casualty, 22.

[4] Stephen Banning, "Unearthing the Origin of Journalistic Professionalization in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," MA thesis, University of Missouri, 1993.

[5] J.W. Barrett, comp., History and Transactions of the Editors and Publishers Association of Missouri (Canton: Canton Press Print, 1876), 1-3; William H. Taft, Missouri Newspapers (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1964), 122.

[6] Stephen Banning, "The Missouri Press Association: A Study of the Beginning Motivations, 1867 - 1876" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Journalism Historian's Association, Lawrence, Kansas, Oct. 1992), 1-21.

[7] Stephen Banning, "Unearthing the Origin of Journalistic Education" (paper presented at the Association of Educators in Journalism and Mass Communication Midwest Journalism History Conference, April 9, 1994), 1-13.

[8] Magali Sarfatti Larson, The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977), 4.

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[9] Daniel H. Calhoun, Professional Lives in America (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965), 15-19.

[10] Larson, Rise of Professionalism, 2.

[11] A.M. Carr-Saunders and P.A. Wilson, The Professions (London: Frank Cass & Co. Ltd., sec. ed., 1964), 29-30. Originally printed in 1933.

[12] Ibid., 44.

[13] W.J. Reader, Professional Men, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), 27.

[14] Ibid., 45.

[15] Ibid., 28.

[16] Carr-Saunders and Wilson, The Professions, 47.

[17] Reader, Professional Men, 21; Carr-Saunders and Wilson, The Professions, 49.

[18] Carr-Saunders and Wilson, The Professions, 49-50.

[19] Calhoun, Professional Lives in America, 63, 65.

[20] Carr-Saunders and Wilson, The Professions, 66.

[21] Ibid., 67.

[22] Reader, Professional Men, 16; Carr-Saunders and Wilson, The Professions, 68.

[23] Calhoun, Professional Lives in America, 20.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid., 11.

[26] Carr-Saunders and Wilson, The Professions, 290, 294.

[27] Philip Elliott, The Sociology of the Professions (New York: Herder and Herder, 1973), 40-41.

[28] Reader, Professional Men, 23.

[29] Larson, Rise of Professionalism, 6.

[30] Byerly Thomson, The Choice of a Profession, 1857, 5. Quoted by Reader, Professional Men, 1.

[31] W.L. Webb, Battles and Biographies of Missourians or the Civil War Period of Our State (Kansas City: Hudson-Kimberly Publishing Company, 1903), second ed., Vol. 1, 998.

[32] Carr-Saunders and Wilson, The Professions, 2, 29.

[33] Howard M. Vollmer and Donald T. Mills, Professionalization (Englewood Cliffs: New Jersey, 1966), 1.

[34] J.A. Jackson, Professions and Professionalization (Cambridge: University Press, 1970), 9.

[35] Eliot Friedson, Professional Powers: A Study of the Institutionalization of Formal Knowledge (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1986), 3; Vollmer and Mills, Professionalization, 1.

[36] Eliot Friedson, Professional Powers, 27; Carr-Saunders and Wilson, The Professions, 2; Robert Dingwall and Philip Lewis, The Sociology of the Professions: Lawyers, Doctors and Others (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983), 21.

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[37] Abraham Flexner, "Is Social Work a Profession?" School and Society 1 (1915): 901-11.

[38] Gerald L. Geison, Professionals and Professional Ideologies in America (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983), 3-4.

[39] Vollmer and Mills, Professionalization, 1; Carr-Saunders and Wilson, 2; Friedson, Professional Powers, 27.

[40] Dingwall and Lewis, The Sociology of the Professions, 136.

[41] Vollmer and Mills, Professionalization, 2.

[42] Jackson, Professions and Professionalization, 23; Dingwall and Lewis, The Sociology of the Professions, 136; Vollmer and Mills, Professionalization, 2; Reader, Professional Men, Preface.

[43] Carr-Saunders and Wilson, The Professions, 3.

[44] Ibid., 1.

[45] Elliott, The Sociology of the Professions, 4-5; Geison, Professionals and Professional Ideologies, 4; Wilbert E. Moore, The Professions: Roles and Rules (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1970), 4.

[46] A.M. Carr-Saunders, "Professions: Their Organization and Place in Society," (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), 3.

[47] Noah Webster, A High School Dictionary of the English Language (New York: Ivison, Blakeman, Taylor, and Co., 1868), 237.

[48] Robert Gordon Latham, Samuel Johnson's A Dictionary of the English Language (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1876), Vol. 2, Part 1, 624.

[49] Flexner, "Is Social Work a Profession?" 901-11.

[50] Marianne Allison, "A Literature Review of the Approaches to the Professionalization of Journalists," Journal of Mass Media Ethics 1, no. 2 (spring/summer 1986): 6; Dingwall and Lewis, The Sociology of the Professions, 8.

[51] Ernest Greenwood, "Attributes of a Profession," Social Work 3 (July 1957): 44.

[52] Everett Cherrington Hughes, Men and Their Work (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1958), 134.

[53] Ibid..

[54] Ibid., 15.

[55] Talcott Parsons, "Professions," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, ed. David Sills, 12 (New York, 1968): 545.

[56] Carr-Saunders, "Professions: Their Organization," 3.

[57] Moore, The Professions: Roles and Rules, 5-6.

[58] Ibid. 6, 15-22.

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[59] William J. Goode, "Community Within A Community: The Professions," American Sociological Review 22 (April 1957): 194-200.

[60] Larson, Rise of Professionalism, 5.

[61] Everett Hughes, excerpted in Professionalization, Howard M. Vollmer and Donald T. Mills, ed., 66.

[62] Carr-Saunders and Wilson, The Professions, 265-70.

[63] Ibid., 270.

[64] "Contemporary Review", January 1859, 9. Quoted by Reader, Professional Men, 148.

[65] Moore, The Professions: Roles and Rules, 123.

[66] Ibid..

[67] John C. Merrill, "Professionalization: Danger to Press Freedom and Pluralism," Journal of Mass Media Ethics 1, no. 2 (spring/summer, 1986): 56.

[68] Mary Cronin and James McPherson, "Reaching for Professionalism and Respectability: The Development of Ethics Codes in the 1920's" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Journalism Historian's Association, Lawrence, Kansas, Oct. 1992), 4.

[69] Ibid., 20.

[70] Hazel Dicken-Garcia, Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth Century America (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1989), 233.

[71] Will Irwin, The American Newspaper (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1969). Reprinted from a series of articles first appearing in Collier's from January to July of 1911.

[72] Sidney Kobre, Development of American Journalism (Dubuque: Wm. C. Brown Company Publishers, 1969), 733-36.

[73] Bert N. Bostrom, Talent, Truth and Energy: Society of Professional Journalists, Sigma Delta Chi (Chicago: Society of Professional Journalists, 1985), vi.

[74] Michael Schudson, Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1973), 151-53.

[75] James Melvin Lee, History of American Journalism (New York: Garden City Publishing Co., Inc., 1923), 388.

[76] Marion Tuttle Marzolf, Civilizing Voices: American Press Criticism 1880-1950 (New York: Longman Publishing Group, 1991), 14.

[77] Ibid., 50.

[78] Douglas Birkhead, "The Power in the Image: Professionalism and the Communications Revolution," American Journalism 1, no. 2 (winter 1984): 3.

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[79] Douglas Birkhead, "News Media Ethics and the Management of Professionals," Journal of Mass Media Ethics 1, no. 2 (spring/summer 1986): 37.

[80] William F. May, "Professional Ethics, The University, and The Journalist," Journal of Mass Media Ethics 1, no. 2 (spring/summer 1986): 20.

[81] Barrett, History and Transactions, 15, 21, 22, 23, 67, 68, 78, 81, 83, 87, 93, 115, 126, 132.

[82] Colman was a natural choice for this role. He was editor and publisher of the Rural World, the MPA Recording Secretary in 1868 and chaired the MPA Committee on Arrangements in 1869. His accomplishments outside the MPA were impressive. In 1868, Colman had been appointed by the governor to the University of Missouri board of curators where he quickly became one of the most influential members on the board (A few years later Colman's leadership skills would lead to his appointment as the first Secretary of the United States Department of Agriculture.). In addition, Colman made an unsuccessful bid for lieutenant governor in 1868. Barrett, History and Transactions, 17, 7; Jonas Viles, The University of Missouri: A Centennial History 1839-1939 (E.W. Stephens Company: Columbia, 1939), 164; Frank F. Stephens, The History of the University of Missouri (University of Missouri Press: Columbia, 1962), 262, 267, 268; Floyd Calvin Shoemaker, Missouri and Missourians: Land of Contrast and People of Achievement (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1943), Vol. 1, 991.

[83] Colman, "May 19, 1869 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 21.

[84] Colman received his teaching license at the age of 16 and was licensed to practice law a number of years later. Colman also helped organize the State Historical Society, the St. Louis Historical Society, and The St. Louis Fair Association. Walter Bickford Davis and Daniel S. Durrie, An Illustrated History of Missouri Comprising Its Early Record, and Civil, Political and Military History (St. Louis: A.J. Hall and Company, 1876), 490-91.

[85] Colman, "May 19, 1869 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 21.

[86] Ibid., 22-23.

[87] Barrett, History and Transactions, 61.

[88] Ibid., 64.

[89] According to one history, "His [Marmaduke's] scholarship in all branches of learning was surpassed by few men in the service of the Southern Confederacy." Marmaduke's background includes a father who was governor of Missouri in 1844, a mother who was the daughter of a prominent

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physician, and an education that included studies at Harvard and Yale. Marmaduke's interest in education would continue when he became governor of Missouri in 1885. W.L. Webb, Battles and Biographies of Missourians or the Civil War Period of Our State, 311; Shoemaker, Missouri and Missourians, Vol. 2: 96, 106.

[90] John S. Marmaduke, "May 27, 1872 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 68.

[91] Barrett, History and Transactions, 75.

[92] John Reid, "May 20, 1874 Welcome Address for the Missouri Press Association," in History and Transactions, 78.

[93] Barrett, History and Transactions, 2, 5.

[94] Ibid., 75.

[95] Ibid., 76.

[96] Blair's newspaper had a relatively small circulation of 960 when compared with the papers of other MPA members such as St. Louis Times editor Stilson Hutchins whose newspaper had a circulation of over 43,000. Barrett, History and Transactions, 90; Geo. P. Rowell, American Newspaper Directory: 1873 (New York: Geo. P. Rowell & Co., 1873), 120, 126.

[97] Milo Blair, "May 20, 1874 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 84.

[98] Ibid., 86-87.

[99] The MPA 1875 convention was held on May 26 at Thespian Hall in Boonville. Barrett, History and Transactions, 88.

[100] Mark DeMotte, "May 26, 1875 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 89.

[101] DeMotte was MPA Secretary in 1871 and published the Lexington Register, a newspaper with just over a thousand subscribers. Rowell, American Newspaper Directory: 1873, 123; Barrett, History and Transactions, 65, 89.

[102] DeMotte, "May 26, 1875 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 93.

[103] Held June 6, 1876 in Macon City. Barrett, History and Transactions, 110.

[104] Switzler, a former MPA president and vice president, published the influential Columbia Statesman. He was also very politically active, becoming a leading Whig at the age of 22 in 1841 and making an unsuccessful bid for the 9th District Congressional seat in 1866. Switzler's leadership role within the MPA included holding the offices of Vice President in 1869 and President in 1873. John Vollmer Mering, The Whig Party in Missouri (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1967), 103; Shoemaker, Missouri and

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Missourians, Vol. 1, 990-91; Barrett, History and Transactions, 19, 65, 90.

[105] William F. Switzler, "June 6, 1876 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 124.

[106] Ibid..

[107] Ibid..

[108] Ibid., 128.

[109] Ibid., 131.

[110] Ibid., 132.

[111] William F. Switzler, "May 27, 1879 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in The Proceedings, comp. M.B. Chapman (Columbia: Missouri Statesman Book and Job Print, 1879), 5.

[112] Switzler's comments about the MPA in his newspaper indicate that he understood professionalization and saw the MPA as a professional organization from the outset. Switzler's interest in journalism education may have stemmed from a deep respect for Robert E. Lee who had made the first efforts in journalism education in 1869. Switzler delivered a public eulogy when Lee died in 1870. MPA member and Washington Post founder Stilson Hutchins was also a Lee devotee. William Switzler, "Publisher's Convention," Missouri Statesman, May 10, 1867, 2; William Switzler, "Lawyers Arrested," Missouri Statesman, May 1867, 4; William Switzler, "Missouri Editor's and Publisher's Association," Missouri Statesman, May 1, 1867, 4; William Switzler, "Editor's and Publisher's Association," Missouri Statesman, May 15, 1867, 2; William Switzler, History of Boone County Missouri (St. Louis: Western Historical Company, 1882), 509; Edward J. Gallagher, Founder of the Washington Post Stilson Hutchins: 1838-1912 (Laconia: Citizen Publishing Company, 1965), 59.

[113] Sara Lockwood Williams, Twenty Years of Education for Journalism (Columbia: E.W. Stephens Publishing Company, 1929), 3, 13.

[114] Cronin and McPherson, "Reaching for Professionalism and Respectability" 4, 20; Marzolf, Civilizing Voices, 14; Dicken-Garcia, Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth Century America, 233; Birkhead, "News Media Ethics and the Mangement of Professionals," 37; Birkhead, "The Power in the Image," 3; May "Professional Ethics, The University, and The Journalist," 20; Merrill, "Professionalization: Danger to Press Freedom and Pluralism," 56; Kobre, Development of American Journalism, 733-36.

[115] Garcia, Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth Century America, 218-19; Lee, The Daily Newspaper in America, 660;

Kobre, Development of American Journalism, 533; Frederic Hudson, Journalism in the United States: From 1690 to 1872 (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1873), 714; Frank Luther Mott, American Journalism: A History of Newspapers in the United States Through 250 Years 1690 to 1940 (New York: Macmillan Company, 1945), 406.

[116] Colman, "May 19, 1869 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 21.

[117] Switzler, "May 27, 1879 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in The Proceedings, 5.

[118] Banning, "Unearthing the Origin of Journalistic Education," 1-13.

[119] Switzler, "June 6, 1876 Annual Missouri Press Association Address," in History and Transactions, 131-33.

[120] George Payne, History of Journalism in the United States (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Incorporated, 1940), 251.

[121] Garcia, Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth Century America, 257.

[122] Sigma Delta Chi is said have had the most widely recognized code of ethics in the twentieth century. Sigma Delta Chi was organized to be a professional organization on par with doctors, lawyers and the clergy. Clifford Christians, "Enforcing Media Codes," Journal of Mass Media Ethics 1, no. 1 (fall/winter 1985-86): 14; William Meharry Glenn, The Sigma Delta Chi Story: 1909-1949 (Coral Gables: Glade House, 1949), 22.

[123] E.W. Stephens, "The Country Newspaper," 42, in The Proceedings of the Missouri Press Association, comp. Jno. W. Jacks, (Sedalia: J.West Goodwin, Steam Printer and Binder, 1884).

[124] E.W. Stephens, "The Newspaper and Its Relations to the Public," in The Proceedings of the Missouri Press Association: 1891 Winter Meeting, comp. Jno. W. Jacks, (Columbia: Herald Publishing House, Printers and Binders, 1891), 30-31.

[125] Ibid., 27-33.

[126] Ibid., 34.

[127] The Proceedings of the Missouri Press Association: 1891 Winter Meeting, comp. Jno. W. Jacks, 3.

[128] Taft, Missouri Newspapers, 191.

[129] The MPA was not the first press association. That honor has been attributed to a club in England in 1837, while the first press club in America has been said to have been the New York Press Club, organized in 1851. The first state press association was organized in either Wisconsin, as traditional sources have claimed, or Ohio, as more recent

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sources indicate. In any event, in traditional historical accounts, none of these associations have been considered to have been professional associations or to have been congregations of professional journalists. In many cases (the MPA excluded), most mid-nineteenth century press associations appear to have been little more than bohemian social clubs. John Weeks Moore, Historical Notes on Printers and Printing 1420 To 1886 (Concord: Republican Press Association, 1886), 251-69; Augustus Maverick, Henry J. Raymond and the New York Press for Thirty Years: Progress of American Journalism From 1840 To 1870 (Hartford: A.S. Hale and Company, 1870), 328-29; Hudson, Journalism in the United States From 1690-1872, 665; Lee, The Daily Newspaper in America, 123-24; "Among the Associations," Newspaperdom 1, no. 7 New York: Chas S. Patteson (November-December 1892): 16; Gerald Baldesty, The Commercialization of News in the Nineteenth Century (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992), 101; Kobre, Development of American Journalism, 725.

[130] Carr-Saunders, "Professions: Their Organization," 7.

[131] Carr-Saunders and Wilson, The Professions, 304.

[132] Hughes, Men and Their Work, 45.

[133] Moore, The Professions: Roles and Rules, 6.

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BAD TIMES FOR THE PRESS: THE 1931 LABOR STRUGGLE IN HARLAN COUNTY

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ABSTRACT

Freedom of the press was subjected to serious assaults in Southeastern Kentucky as an assortment of labor organizations attempted to organize the coal mines, resulting in gun battles, death, and injury. Newspaper reporters who came from out of town to cover the story were threatened and shot. Newspapers deemed unfriendly to the mine owners were banned in mining camps. This paper examines those events in the summer and fall of 1931 in Harlan County, Kentucky.

BAD TIMES FOR THE PRESS: THE 1931 LABOR STRUGGLE IN HARLAN COUNTY

INTRODUCTION

The labor movement did not go gently into the South. Industrial development beginning in the Reconstruction period depended on cheap labor and abundant raw materials. At the turn of the century, growing industrialization created an unprecedented demand for coal, and that coal was lying under the mountains of Eastern Kentucky. In the quest for "black diamonds," as they were known, men were to fight and to die as various labor unions, some even based on communism, sought to organize the miners. Outlaws and rogues threatened reporters who came from out of town to cover the battle, and the powerful mine owners banned the newspapers they did not like. Two newspapers, the *Knoxville News-Sentinel* and the *Harlan Daily Enterprise*, took opposing positions and lambasted one another in their editorials. This study looks at those two papers during 1931 and examines the events and conditions that led to serious assaults on freedom of the press during the summer and fall of that year in Harlan County, Kentucky.

EARLY DAYS

The Kentucky legislature created Harlan County in 1819. Its early settlers were a few hearty souls who practiced subsistence agriculture in small plots in the narrow valleys beside the creeks and streams and on the slopes of the mountain ranges. They bartered pelts, wool, and ginseng for the products they needed.

At the forks of the Cumberland River is the county seat, also named Harlan.[1] Because of rugged terrain, Harlan and Harlan County had always been isolated geographically and close-knit culturally. It had seen little growth. The first automobile did not enter the county until 1928 when the highway from Pineville, thirty miles away, was completed.[2] The people who populated these isolated areas were known for their independence and strong sense of family and community. Vance wrote, "In their wilderness ways, their domestic economy, colonial mores, and Elizabethan English, the real mountain folk come near representing a projected frontier, the colonial South carried forward into the twentieth century. Family ties are strong, and the denizens of isolated communities are close related."[3]

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[1] Ironically, the town later to be nicknamed "Bloody Harlan" was known as Mount Pleasant when it was incorporated in 1876. The name officially changed in 1912 because Kentucky had another town known as Mount Pleasant.

During the 1920s Harlan's homicide rate surpassed that of any county in the United States. An estimated one of every five persons carried a gun. (John W. Hevener, *Which Side Are You On?* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 23.

[2] Hevener, *Which Side Are You On?*, 1.

Three daily newspapers have been published in Harlan: the *Enterprise*, the *Harlan American*, and the *Harlan County Reporter*. The *Enterprise*, which survives today, was begun in 1901 by James H. Eads of Virginia. After Eads sold his interest in 1912, the paper changed owners and names several times ending up as *The Harlan Daily Enterprise* (but even today it is called simply, the *Enterprise*) in 1928 when it went from weekly publication to publication six days a week.[4] The *Enterprise* was the only locally published paper in 1931, the year examined in this study. Several out-of-town newspapers were available and included the Louisville *Courier-Journal* and from neighboring Tennessee, the *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, and *Knoxville Journal*.

INDUSTRIAL FRENZY

In 1870 a farsighted entrepreneur from Philadelphia had bought thousands of acres of land in Eastern Kentucky. His heirs formed the Kentenia Corporation and with the aid of influential local citizens persuaded the Louisville & Nashville railroad to expand their line into Harlan County. The coming of the spur line in 1911 brought change. The railroad provided the means for shipping rich bituminous coal mined from the insides of the mountains to the industrial complexes of the North, from Yancey and Crummies and Wallins to the Great Lakes. One writer with remarkable prescience said in 1911, "One can scarcely predict the possibilities of Harlan; the subject is too vast for a pen-picture. A primeval country, rich beyond belief has awakened suddenly to the possibility of developments. . . ."[5]

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[3] Rupert P. Vance, "In Profile," in *Culture in the South*, ed. W.T. Couch (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1935), 26.

Newspaperman Benton J. Strong later referred to the blood of the citizens of Harlan County as "little mingled with that of outsiders." (Benton J. Strong, *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*, Aug. 22, 1931.)

[4] "Harlan Heritage VIII," *The Harlan Daily Enterprise*, March 27, 1993.

[5] Dortch Campbell, *Bell-Harlan Industrial Review*, July 20, 1911, reprinted in "75 Years of Harlan County Coal," *The Harlan Daily Enterprise* October 31, 1986.

When America declared war with Germany on April 6, 1917, Harlan's coal became a very important commodity, essential to fueling the steel mills in support of the war effort. Coal production rose from 25,481 tons in 1911 to 3,201,733 tons in 1918. Rapid production of coal did not stop then, however. Production exploded, peaking at 14,510,958 tons in 1928 valued at more than $25 million.[6] According to Hevener, "On the eve of the Great Depression, previously impoverished Harlan ranked among Kentucky's three or four wealthiest counties. . . . the number of employed miners expanded from 169 in 1911 to 11,920 in 1930."[7]

Quiet Harlan County was caught up in the industrial frenzy. Coleman wrote, "Ten years before the boom, such a remote mine field as Harlan County, Kentucky, was a backwoods community populated by Scotch-Irish who rarely 'went over the ridge' into an adjoining county." He described the boom: "In 1920 this long-hidden black wealth was being frantically torn from under the laurels and rhododendrons and pines in every ravine."[8]

Harlan's coal industry performed well during the 1920s because of three factors: high quality, low sulfur coal; the absence of unions, which meant lower wages, nonunion work rules, and uninterrupted work; and a more favorable freight-rate structure. The favorable situation in Harlan induced a number of large corporations to operate mines there. Among them were International Harvester, Ford Motor Company, Detroit-Edison, United States Steel, and Koppers.[9] These were fantastic days where anything went, "If it is black, load it."[10]

THE MINERS

The miners, however, were not faring so well. Their wages in 1922 were 42 percent less per day than the wages for comparable work in Illinois.[11] In 1929 the Interstate Commerce Commission, at the urging of Northern coal producers, increased the freight-rate differential for

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[6] "75 Years of Harlan County Coal," *The Harlan Daily Enterprise*, Oct. 31, 1986, 6.

[7] Hevener, *Which Side Are You On?*, 3.

[8] McAlister Coleman, *Men and Coal*, (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, Inc., 1943), 99.

[9] Hevener, *Which Side Are You On?*, 4.

[10] Coleman, 98.

[11] U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. *Hours and Earnings in Bituminous Coal Mining 1929*, Bulletin 516 (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office 1930), 27.

Harlan operators from 25 cents per ton to 35 cents. That, combined with the Great Depression, helped bring Harlan's rapid economic growth to a halt.[12] Wages dropped, number of days worked fell, and unemployment ensued. Throughout the South, in the mines and the textile mills, unions were beginning to make inroads, leading one writer to say that 1929 probably marked the beginning of sustained unionism in southern industry."[13]

The miners' dissatisfaction with their plight went beyond wages and days worked. The paternalism of the coal operators was a major factor. Hevener says, "The miner worked in the company mine, trudged homeward down the company street, slept in the company house, and on Saturday night drank at the company saloon."[14] The miners lived in unincorporated towns called "camps," which were owned by the operators. Some camps were fenced off and protected by armed guards employed by the mine owners. Crawford described the houses as "crudely constructed shacks, closely set in rows along hillsides or creek bottoms. The worst are without plaster, running water, toilets or sanitation of any kind."[15]

By contrast, the residential features in the town of Harlan, where many of the upper and middle classes lived, were described as follows: "Harlan has an exceptional residential section. Real estate values are high." The trading area covered 20 square miles. In 1931 there were 48 mining camps with more than $1,000,000 in monthly payrolls.[16]

His home may have been bad, but the miner's working conditions were even worse. Accidents and fatalities contributed to coal mining's reputation as the most hazardous industry in the country. The miners worked deep in the horizontal shafts, sometimes spending an entire day in quarters so cramped that they could not even stand up. Inside the tunnels, the environment was damp and poorly ventilated, causing miners to contract tuberculosis or "miner's asthma" from the coal dust. They earned between four and five dollars a day. From these wages the operators deducted money for rent, fees for the company doctor, contributions toward the burial fund, and other items. Miners were often paid in company scrip, which was to be spent at the company commissary where prices were higher. Crawford alleges that the company stores charged from 25 to 100 percent more than chain stores.[17]

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[12] Hevener, *Which Side Are You On?*, 10.

[13] George Sinclair Mitchell, "Labor Disputes and Organization," in *Culture in the South*, 634.

[14] Hevener, "A New Deal for Harlan: The Roosevelt Labor Policies in a Kentucky Coal Field 1931-1939" (Ph.D. diss., The Ohio State University, 1971), 64. Hereafter referred to as "A New Deal for Harlan."

[15] Bruce Crawford, "The Coal Miner" in *Culture in the South*, 363.

[16] *Editor and Publisher*, (New York: Editor and Publisher, 1931), 129.

UNION ORGANIZATION

In February 1931 the Harlan mine owners, operating under an umbrella organization formed in 1916, the Harlan County Coal Operators Association, cut wages ten percent in hopes of selling their coal at more competitive prices. Reduced wages and fewer work days brought poverty, hunger, and sickness to the miners and their families. In a humanitarian spirit, some coal companies extended credit to their miners, eliminated the rent charges, gave free land for gardens, and reduced prices in the company stores. The coal operators, as well as the miners, suffered extensive financial losses during the depression.[18]

The United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), never much of an influence in Harlan County, seized upon the opportunity provided by poor economic conditions and began a drive to organize by holding a mass meeting in neighboring Bell County in March 1931. Nearly 2,000 miners from Harlan and Bell Counties attended. Miners by the hundreds joined up.[19] This was not received favorably by the coal operators of either county, who were hostile toward any idea of cooperating with the UMWA. The operators had several courses of action at their disposal--discharge, eviction, yellow-dog contracts (a contract signed as a condition of employment in which a worker says he or she will not join a union), court injunctions, control of county government and relief agencies, and a privately paid and controlled deputy sheriff system.[20] This deputy sheriff system was to receive much of the blame in the troubles that were to ensue. Hallgren noted, "The operators thought that terror would reduce the miners to their former state of humble submissiveness; it merely served to make them more radical."[21]

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[17] Crawford, *Culture in the South*, 365.

[18] Hevener, "A New Deal for Harlan," 41.

[19] *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*, March 15 1931, 12.

[20] Hevener, "A New Deal for Harlan," 69.

[21] Hevener, "A New Deal for Harlan," 69.

An "unofficial" strike and lawlessness followed. Many displaced miners moved to Evarts, a small town northeast of Harlan, where UMWA leaders had their headquarters. Eventually, violence flared between strikers and non-strikers. On May 5, 1931, in what came to be known as the "Battle of Evarts," a group of union men ambushed a convoy of nonstrikers being escorted by deputies. In the ensuing gun battle, three deputies and one miner were killed. An estimated 700 to 1,000 shots were exchanged in 30 minutes. An untold number of others were wounded. The governor sent the National Guard to restore order. The union leaders were jailed, tried, and sentenced to death (they were freed in 1941). The UMWA pulled out of Harlan County, and a few weeks later organizers from the National Miners Union (NMU), a communistic organization, came to town.[22]

Harlan County appeared to be ripe territory for Communist Party organizers. Some saw the coal wars as "class warfare." Hallgren says, "the class issue was clearly drawn, the class struggle conducted in accordance with well-established revolutionary principles."[23] NMU organizers and a representative of the International Labor Defense Organization entered the county in June or shortly before and held secret meetings. Later, 28 Harlan miners attended the NMU convention in Pittsburgh where they "were indoctrinated with the 'lofty' ideals of Communism and returned to Harlan County to assist with the membership drive."[24]

CENSORSHIP AND VIOLENCE

The operators tried to bar union organizers from coming into the mining camps. They censored reading material, especially union or radical literature. The *Knoxville News-Sentinel*[25] was suppressed in seven mining camps because "it was critical of coal field conditions, supported the miners' effort to organize, and was frankly hostile to the suppression of civil liberties."[26] Of the *News-Sentinel*, Hallgren says, they "tried to present a fair story of the Kentucky situation, but its reporters were intimidated by the gunmen and local authorities."[27] On June 10, 1931, the *News-Sentinel* carried a front-page story indicating that the general manager of mines at Crummies and High Splint had banned the paper in those two camps. As the story noted, "He doesn't try to stop publication, he stops delivery."[28] In an editorial on the same day, the *News-Sentinel* told of sending a registered letter to the general manager in May, which had been signed for but unanswered. That letter asked that the ban be removed and offered him the opportunity to present his views. The editors stated, "We believe that the principle of free press is a vital one, and we intend to adhere to it." They referred to him as "czar" and published what they called a "typical letter" that a subscriber in Crummies had "dared" to write. In part that letter said,

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[22] Alessandro Portelli, *The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 217. Hevener, "A New Deal for Harlan," 92.

[23] Mauritz A. Hallgren, *Seeds of Revolt* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1933), 61.

[24] William D. Forester, "Harlan County The Turbulent Thirties," (published by the author in Harlan, Ky., 1986), 20.

[25] Describing the climate in southern journalism at the time, Allen noted that most newspapers were supportive of the mill villages (mainly for the textile industry). Newspapers saw these villages as offering better living, schooling, and the opportunity to realize social ambitions. But there were other newspapers, among them *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*, that saw in the mill village, as Mark Ethridge of the *Macon Telegraph* wrote, "an indigestible mass in the stomach of a community . . . a cancerous growth that may flame into an ugly sore of discontent and trouble." (John D. Allen, "Journalism in the South," in *Culture in the South*, 139-140.)

> "The Crummies Creek Coal Co. has stopped the *News-Sentinel* from being distributed here among the miners. They say there is too much news in the *News-Sentinel* for miners to read. ... They are now circulating the *Knoxville Journal*. . . .[29]

Hevener accused the local press of participating in censorship during the "reign of terror," as he deemed it. He wrote, "Through intimidation of news reporters and economic boycott of certain newspapers, the local operators, press and vigilantes censored press coverage. . . ."[30] A local resident said that many newspapers had for some time been carrying on a "vendetta" against public officials and the coal operators. The *News-Sentinel* headlines almost daily reported conditions in the county. "Some were true, many were not, and others were magnified."[31]

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[26] Hevener, "A New Deal for Harlan," 65.

[27] Hallgren, 64.

[28] *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*, June 10, 1931, 1.

[29] *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*, June 10, 1931, 6.

[30] Hevener, "A New Deal for Harlan," 116.

[31] Forester, 22.

The first reporter to experience first-hand the violence of Harlan County was Bruce Crawford, editor of a small "radical" newspaper, *Crawford's Weekly*, in Norton, Virginia. Crawford received a minor wound to his leg when he was ambushed as he walked across a wooden bridge on July 28. Earlier Crawford had visited a home where the communists were said to have had their headquarters. His attacker was never found. Crawford did not, however, garner sympathy from *Enterprise* editor Don Whitehead[32] whose column "Take It or Leave It" reprinted an editorial from the Big Stone Gap (Va.) *Post* that questioned Crawford's motives. A number of papers throughout Virginia had praised Crawford for his heroic efforts in reporting about Harlan County. The author of this editorial asked, "Is there not behind his newspaper martyrdom a dangerous and anti-American movement?"[33] Among others, Crawford had interviewed Congregational minister and Socialist, Allen Keedy.

The same day that it reported Crawford's wounding, the *News-Sentinel* published a letter that Keedy had written from the Harlan County jail where he was being charged with "obstructing justice" resulting from his work on behalf of the miners. Keedy wrote that relief efforts had been insufficient and that men, women, and children were destined to starve to death because the operators and the county and state governments "withhold food from the open mouths of our future generation."[34] These words probably did not go over well with the Harlan County coal operators; however, they did not respond to the allegations.

Crawford was not the only newsman to be shot. In mid-August a reporter for the Federated Press,[35] a radical labor news service, was sent to cover the murder trails resulting from the battle of Evarts. He was Boris Israel, a 21-year-old graduate of Ohio State. A deputy sheriff reported that he was in front of the courthouse[36] talking to Israel when three men drove up and casually asked to take Israel for a ride. The deputy said he did not know the men and paid little attention, nor did he file a report. As it turned out, Israel was driven off to the nearby hills, threatened, ordered to run and inhale the "mountain air." He was shot in the leg as he tried to escape. Israel hailed a passing cab, which took him to Pineville where he got medical help.[37] Israel, not surprisingly, never returned to Harlan–not even to press charges against his attackers.[38]

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[32] The city editor during the early years of the labor strife was Don Whitehead who in later years made is mark as a war correspondent, winner of two Pulitzer Prizes, and author of several best-selling books.

[33] *The Harlan Daily Enterprise*, August 27, 1931, 4.

[34] *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*, July 29, 1931, 6. Keedy was later released and advised to leave the state. His church assigned him to Chattanooga.

[35] The Federated Press was set up after World War I to supply labor papers with news of the movement that the commercial dailies omitted. (Coleman, 286).

Mrs. Harvey (Jessie Lloyd) O'Connor, who replaced Israel as Federated Press correspondent, wrote to the governor of the state asking him to ensure her safety when she went to Harlan. When she arrived, rogues drove up and down the street in front of the hotel where she was staying in an attempt to terrorize her. The evening of her first day in town, O'Connor received a threatening letter. The handwritten letter sent by special delivery to her hotel room said:

> "Madam: You have been here too long already and remember the other redneck got what was coming to him so don't let the sun go down on you here–if you do it will be just too bad. We have got your number. Signed, 100% American and we don't mean maybe.[39]

She responded that she had not received the letter until after the sun had already gone down. According to the newspaper account, she said she had no intention of leaving. The *News-Sentinel* later reported that the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) had sent a telegram to the governor asking him to issue a public statement to the people of Harlan "to check such regrettable phenomena as the anonymous letter. . . ."[40]

The *News-Sentinel* continued to take verbal shots at the situation in Harlan County in headlines referring to the "reign of terror," the "Harlan threat," "ruthless dictatorship," and by printing letters to the editor from socialists such as Keedy and others sympathetic to the miners. E. S. Fraley, the man who had accompanied Bruce Crawford to Harlan and was with him when he was shot, wrote "the two great news-gathering agencies don't even bother to investigate. And in the absence of publicity the 'law' can become as lawless as it likes."[41] Another letter from a Harlan attorney praised the paper for giving an unbiased report and saying that "the real hurt is done by those newspapers which conceal from their readers the facts."[42]

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[36] Hevener ("A New Deal for Harlan," 117) says that Israel was abducted from the court room. Another *News-Sentinel* account quotes Israel as saying he was in the courthouse (August 18, 1931).

[37] *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*, August 18, 1931, 1.

[38] Hevener, "A New Deal for Harlan," 118.

[39] *The Harlan Daily Enterprise*, August 27, 1931, 1.

[40] *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*, September 7, 1931, 4.

What was happening was that the pro-union/anti-union dichotomy was becoming a communist/anti-communist argument. There were communist organizers in the county in the form of the NMU and their supporters. Anyone with a "liberal" pro-labor viewpoint was seen as an enemy of democracy. In an ironic twist, the anti-union side felt that it was preserving the American way of life even if this meant quelling a number of basic rights. The communist threat led the Enterprise to declare in a front-page editorial, "the menace of the Red's teachings" could "warp and twist a man's thinkings until he doesn't believe in the very God that breathed life into him."[43] To further complicate matters, the pro-union people, even those espousing communism, rationalized their actions and beliefs with their patriotism and felt that "they, not the judges and operators, were the 'real' Americans and that the union fulfilled the Constitution. . . ."[44]

Circuit Court Judge D. C. Jones denounced the principles of communism and instructed the grand jury of Harlan County to make a "sweeping and fearless investigation" of recent labor disorders and communistic activities. Jones said, "Communism and law and order have no place together. They can't sleep in the same bed." He questioned who was paying the ACLU and the International Labor Defense organization to "meddle in others' business."[45] "There had never been communism in the mountains until these snake doctors of New York came in here."[46]

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[41] *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*, August 14, 1931, 4.

[42] *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*, August 30, 1931, 4. Huff's home was believed to have been the headquarters for the Communists. Bruce Crawford had visited Huff before he was shot. (*The Harlan Daily Enterprise*, July 28, 1931, 1).

[43] *The Harlan Daily Enterprise*, August 8, 1931, 1.

[44] Portelli, 222.

[45] *The Harlan Daily Enterprise*, August 17, 1931, 1.

[46] *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*, August 17, 1931, 1.

The *News-Sentinel* sent reporter Benton J. Strong to Harlan in August. Strong's articles ran on the front page for six days and created outrage among certain of the Harlan County citizenry. The first article was titled "Liberty Driven from Harlan County by Bombings, Raids, Shootings, Arrests." In it Strong listed "incidents" such as shooting Crawford, planting stench bombs (also called "stink" bombs in some accounts) in the union attorneys' cars, and arresting people for possessing "red" literature. He noted that "the powers that rule Harlan County have decreed that not only unionism but any discussion of unionism must go."[47]

In his second article, Strong reported the views of a former U.S. Senator, an attorney for one of the Evarts defendants and victim of a stench bomb, and of a New York attorney representing the International Labor Defense, who had said, "The law is being trampled." Strong also wrote that many of the miners had turned to Socialism and some to Communism because the county officers had denied them their rights.[48] At the same time the *Enterprise* refuted the "lurid" stories of terror, suffering, and tyranny. An editorial contradicted claims that the county was a "veritable Hell." It explained that the Kiwanis Club, the American Legion, and the city officials were determined to drive the propaganda of communism out of the county. It noted that reporters were being sent to Harlan with instructions to "color their news in favor of the radical element. . . ." The unnamed papers were then accused of "warping their columns with yellow journalism stripe."[49]

In the third report Strong told of the bombing of a soup kitchen and that the crime was unsolved, as were all crimes against miners. Strong revealed that miners on strike were unable to get food from the American Red Cross because it was under the influence of the coal operators. The Red Cross contended that a strike was not a natural disaster, and thus was outside their purview. A dynamite blast a week before in Evarts had destroyed the front of one of the seven soup kitchens set up in the county by the NMU. Strong reported that "terror grips workmen," a situation made worse by the Sheriff John Henry Blair, who "speaks of the laboring element as 'the other side.'"[50]

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[47] *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*, August 18, 1931, 1.

[48] *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*, August 19, 1931, 1.

[49] *The Harlan Daily Enterprise*, August 19, 1931, 4.

[50] *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*, August 20, 1941, 1.

Strong next told of the twenty cases of criminal syndicalism[51] placed against 26-year-old theological student Arnold Johnson, who represented the American Civil Liberties Union. Johnson possessed a pamphlet "What Do You Mean: Free Speech?" and several other documents deemed "red."[52] Strong quoted a conversation with Sheriff Blair about the scores of defendants charged with criminal syndicalism. "'Are most of them based on literature?' he was asked. 'Yes, most of them, but some of them are for speeches and stuff like that,' he explained."[53]

If these stories had not angered the coal operators, their supporters, and government officials enough, more were to follow that were guaranteed to raise their ire. On August 22, Strong's story was headlined "Pastor Held for Quoting from Bible." Strong explained that quoting from the Bible was a crime, punishable by 21 years in prison and a $10,000 fine. Criminal syndicalism charges had been placed against a preacher for comparing Moses' leading the Israelites from bondage to the situation in the Harlan coal fields.[54]

In the final story, Strong wrote about the numbers of people in the Harlan jail on charges of syndicalism, murder, banding and confederating. A story in the *News-Sentinel* the same day said that more than 100 persons were facing indictments, approximately 30 of them on murder charges. The inmates included, according to Strong, miners, relief workers, representative of national defense leagues and public officials friendly to workmen.[55] A few days later Whitehead was to reply that "conditions warrant wholesale arrests."[56]

In response to Strong's articles and the pejorative tenor of the *News-Sentinel*'s reporting about Harlan County, the Harlan Kiwanis Club, composed of local merchants and businessmen, issued a statement protesting the *News-Sentinel*'s coverage, especially Strong, whom they called "a reporter who had become a distorter."[57] They contended that outside influences in the form of "Communists, Reds, and I.W.W.'s and the National Miner's Union" had turned a labor dispute into an ideological battle. They further charged that the series was unfair and distorted, giving readers the wrong picture of events. The editorial warned that "the business of Knoxville will suffer from the patronage of Harlan County through the action of the *News-Sentinel*."[58] Knoxville was the nearest wholesale center, and Harlan depended upon it for mine equipment, merchandise for retail outlets, many grocery items, and other products.

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[51] Criminal syndicalism is advocacy of the violent overthrow of the government.

[52] The passage called the prosecutor's trump card against Johnson said, "Therefore, it is perfectly clear that orderly progress can only be achieved by an unlimited free speech. No man should ever be locked up for what he says--even if he advocates overthrowing the government by violence, or advises the destruction of property." *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*, August 10, 1931.

[53] *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*, August 21, 1931, 1.

[54] *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*, August 21, 1931, 1.

[55] *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*, August 22, 1931, 1.

[56] *The Harlan Daily Enterprise*, August 31, 1931, 4.

The *Enterprise* proclaimed in an editorial "There are the people who have come into Harlan with their vicious propaganda and broadcast under cover of night their 'Red' literature, published in New York, Chicago, and Chattanooga and encouraged by such journalistic perverts as the *Knoxville News-Sentinel*."[59]

About that time, Judge Jones lashed out at the press. He conceded that the major portion of the press was impartial, but he blamed radical and communistic papers for spreading distortion. He was particularly angered by a story in the *Daily Worker* that said the he would seek the death penalty for 35 men held on charges of murder.[60]

The *News-Sentinel* defended Strong as one of the best reporters in the South and one of the best in the Scripps-Howard organization. The editorial indicated that a Knoxville candy salesman[61] had said that the rash statements appearing in the *News-Sentinel* were causing resentment in Harlan that might lead to a boycott of Knoxville merchants.[62] Once again, the *New-Sentinel* alluded to the suppressed miners saying, "We get pitiful letters from the miners in those camps--unsigned usually because they are afraid to use their names--expressing the wish that they could get the *News-Sentinel* back." The editorial further noted that circulation had increased in other communities because the Harlan coal operators had "advertised the *News-Sentinel* as too interesting for employees to read."[63]

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[57] *The Harlan Daily Enterprise*, August 23, 1931, 1.

[58] *The Harlan Daily Enterprise*, August 23, 1931, 1.

[59] *The Harlan Daily Enterprise*, August 25, 1931, 1.

[60] *The Harlan Daily Enterprise*, August 26, 1931.

[61] His name was Arch Cullen, and the editorial referred him as "a better candy salesman than Strong, but not a better reporter."

[62] One has to look to the *Knoxville Journal* to get the background on Cullen's remarks. In an interview with the *Journal*, Cullen, a traveling salesman in Southeastern Kentucky, had said, "Such rash statements as have been made in these articles in the *News-Sentinel* have caused much resentment in Harlan and are causing coal operators to threaten boycott of Knoxville firms if this is not stopped." (*Knoxville Journal*, August 22, 1931)

The *Enterprise* countered with a protest of the *News-Sentinel* "flippant" reply to the Kiwanis Club's protest. The next week, however, a group of Knoxville businessmen, in response to the Kiwanis Club's concerns, went to Harlan on a goodwill trip and to give assurance that the *News-Sentinel* would "be glad to print 'the other side' of the Harlan situation."[64]

The *News-Sentinel* in an editorial "Beyond Coal Strikes" advocated a kind of a survival-of-the-fittest coal industry. Because the demand for coal had decreased, they saw the need for industrial evolution where only the richest coal fields would be worked. These mines would be equipped with the latest equipment, and labor would be organized to provide "decent living standards, efficient work and productive co-operation."[65]

Later they said that high wages and short hours were essential if capitalism was to work. The writer explained that a system of "individual initiatives" would not work without freedom of speech, freedom of the press, and freedom of assemblage. That, the editorial said, was the reason for exposing "the terror and tyranny which exists in Harlan County." The editorial explained that freedom of speech even extended to communists and concluded by asking the Harlan Post of the American Legion to join "in our stand for American principles."[66]

Using the celebration of Constitution Week as the basis for more criticism of Harlan, an editorial asked, "Is there a free press in Harlan?" Once again they referred to the fact that the paper was barred from some camps because it "disagrees with and condemns coal operators for their program of terror." The paper recommended that Harlan celebrate Constitution Week by restoring free speech, a free press, and free assemblage.[67]

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[63] *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*, August 23, 1931, 6.

[64] *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*, August 27, 1931, 1.

[65] *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*, August 26, 1931, 6.

[66] *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*, August 31, 1931, 6.

[67] *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*, September 22, 1931, 6.

Criticism even occurred in unlikely places in the *News-Sentinel*. There was a column on the editorial page called "Sunshine and Moonshine," which was supposed to be folksy and humorous. One day the column began,

> "HELLO! I notice that Deputy Sheriff Fleener in Harlan says the men he killed had fired at him and missed. I was under the impression they never miss in Harlan."[68]

In an attempt to enhance the credibility of its stories, the New-Sentinel reprinted a series of articles by Louis Stark, *New York Times* correspondent, who had visited Harlan. Stark tried to present both sides of the story. He noted that the potential for starvation was so great that there was danger of a holocaust during the winter. He also noted that if ten percent of the coal operators were earning money, that figure was high. The only thing that he saw as helping the situation appreciably was an upturn in business. Barring that, he foresaw out-and-out war.[69]

That fall, Harlan County became the focus of a study by the communist-controlled National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, chaired by Theodore Dreiser. Among the members of this committee, known as the Writers' Group, were Bruce Crawford, John Dos Passos, and the editor of the *Daily Worker*.[70] They spent two days in Harlan County investigating conditions, making anti-capitalistic speeches, and drumming up support for the NMU. Their report, *Harlan Miners Speak: A Report on Terrorism in the Kentucky Coal Fields*, exaggerated conditions. Hevener called it "propaganda" that was intended to bring on a Congressional investigation of conditions in the county.[71]

There was an outcry in many neighboring newspapers, but not in the *News-Sentinel*. As if to show that bigger city papers supported their view, the *Enterprise* reprinted editorials opposed to Dreiser and his group. These were from the Knoxville *Journal* and the Louisville *Courier-Journal*. The *Courier-Journal*, for example, accused "Theodore the Terrible" of seeking publicity.[72] Allan wrote, "The din evoked by the visit of the Dreiser party to Kentucky, late in 1931, evidenced the skill of southern newspapers in making journalistic noise. ... Others held with the learned Harlan *Enterprise* that 'it is the radical, un-American views as preached by Dreiser and his motley followers that have caused conditions in these hills to reach the breaking point. ..."[73]

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[68] *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*, September 6, 1931, 6.

[69] *The Knoxville News-Sentinel*, September 29, 1931, 13.

[70] Hevener, *A New Deal for Harlan*, 123.

[71] Hevener, *A New Deal for Harlan, 132.*

[72] *The Harlan Daily Enterprise*, October 18, November 6, 1931.

Judge Jones ordered a Grand Jury investigation to see if the group had violated criminal syndicalism laws. They had been charged in Bell County, and Dreiser had been charged with adultery because he supposedly spent the night at a motel with one of the women in the group.[74]

Four days after the Writers' Group had left town, 28 groups in the county organized the Harlan County Relief Association. The *Enterprise* lauded the effort in a front-page editorial, saying "Harlan must and will respond gladly and willingly . . . and will remove much of the blemish from her name."[75] The efforts of the relief association, along with the work done by the Society of Friends, began to ease the starvation. Hevener pointed out that the massive relief efforts "must have played an important role in pacifying the miners' discontent and siphoning off radical support."[76] With starvation ameliorated, the miners felt less need for the forum provided by the newspapers.

CONCLUSION

What happened in Harlan County in 1931 illustrates that attacks on freedom of the press often come from least-expected quarters. In this case, private businesses prevented the distribution and sale of certain newspapers on their property.

Neither the *News-Sentinel* nor the *Enterprise* can be proud of its role in reporting the troubles of that year. The *News-Sentinel* played into the hands of the NMU and their supporters by publishing their letters and propaganda. They opened their columns to the likes of Allen Keedy, E. S. Fraley, W. B. Jones, and a number of others with a socialist or communist agenda.

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[73] Allen, *Culture in the South*, 143.

[74] Hevener, *A New Deal for Harlan*, 130. A few curious souls who were watching Dreiser's room propped toothpicks against the door after they saw Miss Marie Pergain go into his room. The adultery charges were based on the fact that the toothpicks were still in place the next morning. Dreiser countered that he was impotent. Not surprisingly, the story made national news.

[75] *The Harlan Daily Enterprise*, December 7, 1931, 1.

[76] Hevener, *A New Deal for Harlan*, 138.

The *Enterprise* failed to expose the plight of many citizens in the county and failed to take a stand for justice. It was unable to muster the strength to take a position antithetical to that of the coal operators, even when it was warranted. Instead, the *Enterprise* buried its journalistic head in a symbolic mine shaft untouched by fresh air and a fresh viewpoint. One writer, however, said that Kentucky newspapers played a major role in preventing the spread of communism.[77] Indeed, the papers made clear that Communist Party and its organizers were not welcome.

The struggle to unionize Harlan County mines continued until 1939 when the last hold-outs signed contracts with the UMWA. This did not end animosity between the operators and the miners. Throughout the years, gunfire has echoed through the mountains as strikers and non-strikers have tried to settle differences with bullets instead of the bargaining table.

No one remembers when the *News-Sentinel* returned to the camps where it had been banned if, in fact, it ever did. Because the mining camps are remote and scattered throughout the county, this is a geographical problem and not one of censorship. Even today, Harlan remains isolated . . . one place in the country where *USA Today* is not sold on the newsstands.

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[77] Herndon J. Evans, *The Newspaper Press in Kentucky*, (Lexington: The University of Kentucky Press, 1976).

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Hearst, Roosevelt and the Muckrake Speech of 1906: A New Perspective

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Hearst, Roosevelt and the Muckrake Speech of 1906: A New Perspective

The Progressive Era in American history (1898-1920) is generally thought of as a time of profound change in the character of the nation. New ideas in education, the political process, communications, transportation and social welfare were developed, some of which still are debated today. Nowhere were those ideas more consistently and insistently echoed than in the periodical press by a group of journalists who came to be known as muckrakers.

One of the more unexamined characteristics of the Progressive Era was a power struggle between Theodore Roosevelt, the national leader of the movement, and William Randolph Hearst, the most prominent member of the reformist media. The purpose of this paper is to describe the relationship between Hearst and Roosevelt and its impact on muckraking. An examination of the power-center role played by both men uncovered previously overlooked or unnoticed aspects of their relationship. In the end, the confrontation between the two men resulted in the erosion of the foundation of muckraking. The decline of muckraking was accelerated when Roosevelt, seeking to regain control of the debate and to stave off a political challenge from Hearst, delegitimized the reform press in his April, 1906 speech labelling the new journalists as "muckrakers." In doing so, Roosevelt captured control of the direction of reform when it appeared to be slipping away from him. His motivation for the speech was a question of both power and control.

TWO POWER CENTERS

This paper uses functionalism as a theoretical perspective, which requires the examination of sources of power in the social system. Two centers of power in a pluralistic democratic system are elected officials and the mass media. In the muckraking era (1902-1911), power was held by Roosevelt, who assumed the office of U.S. president when William McKinley was assassinated in 1901 and won election in 1904. In the mass media of the era, arguably the most powerful empire was run by Hearst, the Californian who began his career in San Francisco and moved to New York in the 1880s, eventually buying or starting several newspapers and magazines known for their sensational style. This paper argues that Roosevelt was the dominant politician of his time and Hearst was the publisher with the most national impact, due to the size of his holdings and the reach and nature of his journalism.

A conflict arose when Hearst chose to move from the mass media arena to the political one. What Hearst wanted more than newspaper notoriety was the power that comes with being president, and he spent the better part of three decades trying to get the job. Roosevelt was the most important person in his way in this era.

Many accounts of the 1906 muckrake speech focus on stories by David Graham Phillips in his "The Treason of the Senate" series for *Cosmopolitan* and Roosevelt's angry reaction.[1] Historian John Semonche said the speech reflected Roosevelt's fear that "the articles appearing in popular magazines would develop class conflict and would give impetus to the socialist movement."[2] This account and others neglect the power relationship between the Republican Roosevelt and the Democrat Hearst, the publisher of *Cosmopolitan*, perhaps because Hearst has been viewed with such disfavor by historians.[3] But the Roosevelt-Hearst relationship, and particularly Hearst's desire for the job Roosevelt held, serves as an alternative explanation for the aggressive political muckraking of *Cosmopolitan* and much of the President's adverse reaction in April of 1906.[4] The attempt by Roosevelt to delegitimize muckraking was at the heart of the struggle between two centers of power in the system and a battle for control over the reform agenda. If, as Walter Lippmann suggested, muckraking served to apply dominant social norms to groups deviating from the mainstream, so too could Roosevelt use his presidency -- the bully pulpit -- to serve as a social control on the new journalism.

There can be little doubt that Roosevelt had Hearst in mind when he made the "man with the muckrake" speech on April 14, 1906, although the president mentioned no names in his talk. Among the evidence is a letter written by Roosevelt to Ray Stannard Baker, a reporter for *McClure's*. Roosevelt assured the journalist that his upcoming speech would not apply to men like Baker, but that he had Hearst's magazines and newspapers "in mind at the moment." The letter further stated:

> One reason that I want to make that address is because people so persistently misunderstand what I said, that I want to have it reported in full. For instance, you misunderstand it. I want to 'let in light and air,' but I do not want to let in sewer gas. If a room is fetid and the windows are bolted I am perfectly content to knock out the windows; but I would not knock a hole into the drain pipe. In other words, I feel that the man who in a yellow newspaper or in a yellow magazine... makes a ferocious attack on good men or even attacks bad men with exaggeration or for things they have not done, is a potent enemy of those of us who are really striving in good faith to expose bad men and drive them from power. I disapprove of the whitewash brush quite as much as of mudslinging, and it seems to me that the disapproval of one in no shape or way implies approval of the other. This I shall try to make clear.[5]

Roosevelt did draw distinctions between constructive and destructive journalism in the speech, but any words of praise for the muckrakers were overshadowed by his criticism.

Hearst's Early Political Days

One of the functions of the press is to identify and create leaders. In one of histories' ironies, Hearst played a role in getting Roosevelt elected President, however indirectly, by helping instigate the Spanish-American War. Hearst used the New York *Journal* as a pro-war newspaper at every opportunity. The newspaper magnate's saber-rattling for the war with Spain in 1898 has been well-chronicled, as has President William McKinley's opposition to the conflict. Hearst certainly tried to goad McKinley into war, partly by printing the Dupuy De Lome letter, in which the Spanish minister to Washington called the president "a low politician, catering to the rabble."[6] Significant features of the coverage of the war were the glorification of the battlefield in the Hearst newspapers (and others) and the creation of heroes for the American reading public. Not the least of those war heroes was the Rough Rider, "Teddy" Roosevelt, and his well-chronicled charge up San Juan Hill. Then-Colonel Roosevelt "conveyed an impression that he and his calvary could handle the Spaniards alone if the rest of the army would get out of their way," Hearst biographer W. A. Swanberg wrote.[7] The New York newspapers, particularly Hearst's *Journal*, "were singing his praises."[8]

Although Hearst aggressively urged a war agenda, he did not make Roosevelt a hero without the Rough Rider's help. Roosevelt received voluminous publicity as the leader of the Rough Riders, publicity he encouraged and exploited. His image as a hard-charging warrior on a white horse formed part of his political appeal -- although less well known was that he was so near-sighted he carried seven extra pairs of glasses on his person, including a pair hidden in his hat.[9] Roosevelt as hero returned from the war to win the governorship of New York, a race in which Hearst supported his opponent.[10] Without Hearst, the war with Spain may or may not have happened; without the war, Roosevelt's military career would have taken a different shape -- with unknown effects on his political career. "Since Hearst brought on the war, it can also be said he put Roosevelt in Albany as governor and in the White House as President," wrote Swanberg.[11]

At the center of this analysis is understanding Hearst's political ambition, as well as Roosevelt's, and the power relationship between the two. Three areas of conflict are used as examples: Hearst's dislike of McKinley, whom Roosevelt served as vice president; the conflict over the Pennsylvania coal strike in 1902; and Hearst's campaign for governor of New York in 1906. The first two circumstances were part of the events building up to Roosevelt's speech attacking muckraking. Roosevelt's speech came a few months before Hearst lost the New York gubernatorial election to Charles Evans Hughes. (Hearst had sought that office as a steppingstone to the presidency.)

While Roosevelt's biographers have generally been kind,[12] Hearst has received less favorable treatment.[13] Swanberg's conclusion referred to Hearst as "a mass of contradictions, inconsistent, ever in conflict with himself."[14] Biographers are silent on why Hearst pursued political office. One explanation might be that although his newspapers were generally successful, his power was limited to the communities served by his media. As an ego-driven rich man who wanted to influence public policy, he was drawn perhaps inevitably to politics. By all accounts Hearst was not born a politician, although his father George was an influential United States senator from California. The senator's son was not a good public speaker -- "Willie" carried a significant case of stage fright to every gathering -- and he disliked handshakes and was generally shy in a crowd. In addition, Hearst's great personal wealth probably worked against him almost as much as for him during many of his political campaigns, as he ran as a man-of-the-people candidate and took criticism for being a silver-spoon hypocrite and a buyer of votes.

Hearst's personal life was also an issue: he was a playboy at a time when such behavior was a liability to a political candidate. He married in 1904, some said, to assure an image of respectability necessary to run for president. Political leaders, particularly the Tammany machine in New York, did not like him and he remained outside the inner circle of the politically powerful. Hearst believed he could take a short cut past routine political career-climbing. Twice elected to Congress, Hearst pursued the presidency for three decades, although he came no closer to it than during the Progressive Era; the failed gubernatorial election campaign after the muck-rake speech was his high water mark.

The McKinley Conflict

Publication of a poem came to be a cause of great regret to Hearst; a latent function of the publication of the poem was the damage to his political career. Published on February 4, 1900 in the *Journal* following the assassination of Kentucky Governor-elect William Goebel, Ambrose Bierce's poem reflected the anti-McKinley views of the Hearst newspapers:

> The bullet that pierced Goebel's breast
> Cannot be found in all the West
> Good reason, it is speeding here
> To stretch McKinley on his bier.[15]

Upon reading the passage, Hearst had the presses stopped and the offending poem pulled from the plates.

Hearst began pumping money and time into the presidential race of 1900; although he wasn't sure he wanted to be a candidate, he knew he wanted to influence the outcome.[16] This also brought him into conflict with Roosevelt, who was on the ticket as McKinley's vice presidential candidate. Hearst sought and won election to the presidency of the National Association of Democratic Clubs, which had 12 local branches and three million members. Besides his election to that position, there was other evidence that Hearst had his eyes on the top job. He began putting his name in the masthead of all five of his newspapers -- as a publisher, he knew advertising was an important part of any political campaign. He used his newspapers to support William Jennings Bryan, although he must have suspected he was backing a loser. For one thing, Bryan's anti-imperialism was unpopular, partly because of the Spanish-American War so vigorous supported by Hearst. Nonetheless, Hearst's papers continually attacked McKinley and Roosevelt. Cartoons often depicted McKinley as a small boy representing a tool of the trusts and Roosevelt as his playmate, outfitted with a toy horse and wooden sword.[17]

Although Bryan lost, for the presidential aspirant in Hearst the campaign was not really over. In crusade-style newspapering characteristic of the yellow journalism of his *Journal*, Hearst's papers relentlessly attacked President McKinley as a tool of the trusts. One Arthur Brisbane editorial said McKinley "...was the most hated creature on the American continent."[18] Hearst began a newspaper, the *American*, in Chicago to spread his views to the Midwest. Hearst pursued an antitrust theme and his cartoonists and editorial page writers attacked McKinley, who aided the antitrust campaign by doing little politically in response to the growing social concern about big business.

The printed attacks became so brutal that Hearst began having second thoughts about the crusade. He sent an assistant to Washington to "visit the President and 'express his regret that his newspapers... had been led to excesses of personal attack'..."[19] But subsequent issues of the newspapers attacked McKinley, including this head-shaking line on the editorial page: "If bad institutions and bad men can be rid of only by killing, then killing must be done."[20] As happened in the poem about Goebel, Hearst stopped the presses when he read that passage in an early edition and had the offending material removed. It was another sentence written by someone else that dogged Hearst's political career.

McKinley and Roosevelt were outraged at the treatment they received from Hearst and other yellow journals, but it could be argued that McKinley brought some of it on himself with his legislative inactivity in a time of a pervasive belief that something was wrong in American society. There is evidence that McKinley considered moves against the trusts in the summer of 1901, after the panic brought on by the Northern Pacific Railroad fight and the publicity surrounding the U.S. Steel merger.[21] As was his wont, McKinley moved cautiously, floating half-filled trial balloons amidst opposition from his own conservative Republican senators. What might have resulted from these first tentative antitrust moves will never be known, as assassin Leon Czolgosz gunned down the president on September 5, 1901, in Buffalo, N.Y. McKinley died on September 14 and Theodore Roosevelt was sworn in as president in Buffalo, at age 42 the youngest man ever to assume the office. In a letter to his friend Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, written two days after the shooting (but before McKinley died), Roosevelt blamed Hearst, saying that "every scoundrel like Hearst and his satellites who for whatever purposes appeals to and inflames evil human passion, has made himself accessory before the fact to every crime of this nature, and every soft fool who extends a maudlin sympathy to criminals has done likewise."[22]

Almost immediately, Hearst regretted the virulence of his attacks on the dying president. "Things are going to be bad," he told Charles Edward Russell, publisher of the Chicago *American*.[23] Hearst worked to soften the wrath of his editorials and cartoons, but the damage was done, much of it by a five-month-old editorial and a 20-month-old poem, both of which espoused killing as a political solution. Hearst's image was hung in effigy, bundles of his newspaper stolen and burned, and there were threats against his life. He began carrying a pistol for protection and paid someone to open packages for him.[24] Russell, in an editorial, wrote: "Many things are said that might not be said if thought over more deliberately."[25] In an apparent defense of the quality of the newspaper, Russell printed a long list of newspaper vendors who had ordered extra copies of the *American* since the assassination.[26]

Roosevelt, as president, was not about to forgive Hearst's attacks on McKinley. In fact, in the new president's first message to Congress, Roosevelt attacked Hearst, indirectly, by referring to Czolgosz as a person who was influenced by Hearst-type journalism:

> ...inflamed by the teachings of professed anarchists, and probably also by the reckless utterances of those who, on the stump and in the public press, appeal to the dark and evil spirits of malice and greed, envy and sullen hatred. The wind is sowed by the men who preach such doctrines, and they cannot escape their share of responsibility for the whirlwind that is reaped.[27]

Hearst now had the young, energetic and politically responsive Roosevelt in the way of his becoming president, rather than the more vulnerable McKinley. He continued to attack the trusts, but softened the tone while Roosevelt moved more swiftly than McKinley in an antitrust direction.

The Coal Miners' Strike

Whatever detenté there was between Roosevelt and Hearst did not last more than a few months. The anthracite coal miner's strike in 1902 and Hearst's campaign for Congress that year ended any unofficial truce between the two. About 145,000 workers in a Pennsylvania miner's union, led by John Mitchell, walked off the job, asking for more money and better working conditions. Most of the hard coal operators were railroad magnates who had formed a trust to control both the product and its shipment.[28]

Hearst supported the striking miners against the coal trusts. He rented Madison Square Garden in New York City for speeches by Mitchell and Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor.[29] Hearst "was always enthusiastic about things he was *for*, violent about things he was *against*," Swanberg wrote, and he wanted the strike settled in favor of the miners immediately.[30] Roosevelt, however, favored a negotiated settlement, with some give-and-take on both sides, and threatened to send in 10,000 federal troops to do the mining. With winter coming on, the price of coal jumped from $5 per ton to $20 and higher, with shortages increasing the worry of urban citizens dependent on coal to heat their houses and apartments. In New York City, Hearst newspapers were popular among tenement residents, many of whom were forced to stand in line for a pail of coal to heat their homes for a day or two. Meanwhile, coal operators left full carloads standing on rail sidings, waiting for a more favorable price and hoping the threat of violence in the cities would pressure the miners to settle.[31] Hearst's men found a few carloads, bought them, and sold them to the tenement dwellers at the usual $5-per-ton price, all the while attacking the operators in the newspaper.[32]

As Roosevelt attempted to negotiate a settlement, Hearst moved the coal crusade into the legal arena to try to force the President's hand. He instructed his attorney, Clarence Shearn, to gather evidence of any illegalities in the anthracite coal trust.[33] Shearn filed a petition with United States Attorney General Philander Knox, asking Knox to take action against the mine owners and detailing the evidence he had found. Hearst personally sent Roosevelt a letter in early October, instructing the President that the Shearn petition was all he needed to act in favor of the strikers. "I am IN POSSESSION OF DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE establishing such illegal combination..." Hearst wrote.[34]

Roosevelt was not taking advice or legal bullying from his enemy, however. In time, the strike was settled through negotiations, Roosevelt's way, and the president emerged more popular and powerful because of it. The workers received a 10-percent raise and a reduction in the work day to eight or nine hours, while the coal operators got a 10-percent increase in price. During the 1904 presidential campaign, Roosevelt called the settlement a "square deal," and the phrase stuck.[35] Hearst was disgruntled at Roosevelt's victory and tried to take most of the credit, which undoubtedly angered Roosevelt, who was not one to share credit with anyone, much less Hearst.

Hearst in Congress

Meanwhile, Hearst was running for a Congressional seat from Manhattan in the heart of the Tammany district. Hearst began his Congressional campaign by attempting to obtain the New York Democratic gubernatorial nomination, but he lost that at the last moment. Hearst then asked his loyal lieutenant, Brisbane (who was running for Congress), to step aside so Hearst could run instead -- and Brisbane did so.[36] The district was fairly safely in Democratic hands, but Hearst still needed Tammany support to get elected, and Tammany leaders saw Hearst's media empire as a resource for battling a Republican governor and a Republican president. Two days after Hearst wrote Roosevelt about the coal strike, the publisher was awarded the Democratic nomination. Hearst took control of the campaign from Tammany; he wanted an eye-catching margin of victory and paraded powerful politicians from around the country through Manhattan to make sure he got it.[37]

During the remainder of the campaign, Hearst took the usual jabs at the opposition party. An example was an indirect attack on Roosevelt and direct criticism of the Republicans in a speech at Madison Square Garden on October 27. The Republican Party, Hearst said, had become tools of the trusts:

> The trusts have received so many privileges from the Republican party, and the Republican party in turn has received so many favors from the trusts, that a bond has grown between them, uniting them like Siamese twins, and you cannot stick a pin in the trusts without hearing a shriek from the Republican party; and you cannot stick a pin in the Republican party without hearing a roar from the trusts.[38]

Hearst won handily against token opposition, although an election night fireworks display for him went awry, killing 18 people, including a policeman. Lawsuits over the incident followed Hearst for decades.[39]

Evidence suggests Hearst was not an effective Congressman. He could not adapt to the art of compromise, perhaps because the dictatorial management style he used effectively in the business world did not transfer into the Congressional workplace. Frustrated, Hearst rarely bothered to attend legislative sessions, answering only nine roll call votes in his first two sessions.[40] All the while, his eyes were on a bigger prize: the presidency. To that end, he formed a coalition of legislators to help him promote forward-looking bills, although few were actually passed. He refused to give up the coal strike issue -- in fact, his first Congressional speech asked for an investigation of the coal-railroad monopoly. Hearst, through Shearn, spent $60,000 of his own money in preparing legal arguments against the trust, but Attorney General Knox again refused to advance an investigation.

"The attorney general has been brooding over that evidence like an old hen on a doorknob for 18 months," Hearst said.[41]

Running Against Roosevelt

While Hearst was more or less serving in Congress, his political operatives were travelling the country lining up delegates in a bid to run against Roosevelt in 1904. To help his image, Hearst married, dressed more modestly, sought publicity for himself and toned down some of the rhetoric in his publications. He began two more newspapers, the Boston *American* and the Los Angeles *Examiner*, to generate political support in heavily populated parts of the country with little exposure to Hearst's views. No strong opposition to Hearst emerged in the early stages of the campaign, much to the chagrin of the old-line Democrats, some of whom considered exhuming Grover Cleveland from retirement to run against Roosevelt rather than supporting Hearst.[42]

Judge Alton B. Parker of New York emerged out of a field of dark horses as the publisher's primary Democratic opposition. Hearst won the Iowa state convention but lost Indiana to Parker as it became apparent that the radical wing of the Democratic Party supported Hearst, while the larger conservative wing supported the judge. (Parker was more conservative than Roosevelt, who in turn was more conservative than Hearst.) Still, Hearst's political strength was probably underestimated by party leaders. His money had much to do with his strength. In Indiana, one Parker supporter said bitterly of Hearst, "Our state has been overrun with paid agents and retainers... The Hearst dollar mark is all over them."[43]

The national convention in St. Louis was a madhouse, even by the standards of a political convention. Rumors of Hearst's liberal spending on delegates, bands, parties and fireworks were rampant, and evidence was visible. Hearst picked up 263 votes but lost the nomination to Parker, who had 658. Swanberg credited the defeat to Hearst's reputation as a womanizer, which cost him support among the party elite, particularly Bryan, whom Hearst had supported with time and money in two previous campaigns. Bryan hated the conservative Parker, but could not bring himself to vocally support Hearst. When Parker came out against Bryan's cherished free silver after the nomination -- but before the meeting was over -- the convention erupted again. Hearst, who was already on his way back to New York, got back on a train for St. Louis to try to salvage the nomination for himself, but Parker's men outfought Bryan for control. The Republicans were amused. "The Democratic Party can always be counted on to make a damn fool of itself at the critical time," said Senator Ben Tillman of South Carolina.[44]

Roosevelt's Muckrake Speech

Roosevelt was elected president and Hearst was re-elected to Congress in 1904. The publisher was somewhat more effective as a legislator in his second term, assembling coalitions at the same time he was moving away from the Democratic Party. He also bought *Cosmopolitan* magazine -- his second magazine purchase -- in the summer of 1905 for $400,000.[45] *Cosmopolitan* gave Hearst what his newspapers did not -- a national platform for his views. Although he owned seven newspapers (and a small specialty magazine), his influence was limited to the distribution areas of his papers and whatever other publicity he could muster. It was in the pages of the magazine that Hearst jumped into the national muckraking phenomenon, which had begun in late 1902.

Experiencing little success in Congress, Hearst decided to run for mayor of New York City in 1905. He ran into bitter opposition when he attempted to circumvent the Tammany Hall machine on a reform platform. Tammany nominated George McClellan Jr., son of the famous Civil War general, as the Democratic candidate. The Republican candidate was William M. Ivins. Hearst, always seeking control, formed his own party under the auspices of his Municipal Ownership League -- this while he was serving as a Democrat in Congress -- and finished second to McClellan by about 4,000 votes (of about 650,000 cast) in a bitter, divisive campaign. Rumors of Tammany voters making several trips to the polls and of thousands of ballots for Hearst dumped into the East River caused Charles Edward Russell to say the election was fraudulent.[46] A recount favored McClellan, but any ballots dumped in the river would not have been a part of a recount.

Even Roosevelt seemed to believe Hearst may have been slighted. He damned the publisher with faint praise in a letter to his new attorney general, Julius H. Mayer, asking him to check on the validity of the election: "I hardly need tell you what I feel about Hearst and about the papers and magazines he controls and their influence for evil upon the political and social life of this country," Roosevelt wrote, "but this has nothing to do with the fact that if he was entitled to the seat he should have it."[47]

Hearst was defeated, but not through with politics. A few months later, "The Treason of the Senate" series appeared in *Cosmopolitan*. Was the politician Hearst trying to make himself look good by comparison in the "Treason" series? George Mowry and Judson Grenier, in editing Phillips' series nearly 50 years later, wrote: "Perhaps the publication of the 'Treason' series was just a calculated step in Hearst's political ambitions" but they did not develop such an analysis.[48]

Hearst's man Russell said he thought of the idea for the "Treason" series. While sitting in the Senate gallery one day, Russell mused about the girth of the senators below him, as well as their formal attire and their activities on behalf of the industrial concerns. He concluded that these men were servants more than solons. "Almost nobody in that chamber had any other reason to be there than his skill in valeting for some powerful interest," Russell wrote in his autobiography.[49] With muckraking in full bloom, Russell said he conceived of the notion of investigating the Senate with a series of articles that "might well be written on the fact that strictly speaking we had no Senate; we had only a chamber of butlers for industrialists and financiers."[50] Russell took the idea to Hearst. It is important to mention that the idea was not necessarily original -- the historian John Lydenberg noted the similarities between Charles Warner's and Mark Twain's novel, *The Gilded Age* (1874), and Russell's notion of a fatuous Senate more than three decades later.[51]

Still smarting from his political defeats and stonewalled in his Congressional machinations, Hearst encouraged Russell to begin work. But after Russell began to gather material, he took another assignment from *Everybody's*, and his information was passed on to an experienced reporter, David Graham Phillips, whom Hearst hand-picked for the story. Phillips, a highly paid writer and reporter for the *Saturday Evening Post*, was reluctant to take over the project at first, suggesting William Allen White for the job. He finally agreed when Hearst, through editor Bailey Millard, hired a New York *Times* reporter, Gustavus Myers, and Phillips' brother to do research. Hearst also agreed to promote the series heavily. "Hearst's hand was evident in their promotional lure, in the choice of writer and subject, and in his close editing of the series," one historian wrote.[52]

Phillips, who had worked under Russell at the New York *World*, was an Indiana native. He began his New York newspaper career at the well-written *Sun* before he joined the *World* as a reporter, foreign correspondent, editorial writer and sometime travelling companion of Joseph Pulitzer. Phillips' appointment as editorial writer for Pulitzer coincided with the rise of yellow journalism and undoubtedly influenced his colorful writing style. He resigned from newspapers to do free-lance writing in 1902. In a 1905 novel, *The Plum Tree*, Phillips wrote a stinging critique of the Senate, but he was not a Socialist, like Myers; rather, the Hoosier was a Jeffersonian.[53]

What Phillips had entered into reluctantly, he finished with great zest. Among the many targets of the series was Roosevelt's good friend and Hearst's long-time foe, Philander Knox, who made his money through fees "from armor-plate and rebate rascals."[54] Even the late President McKinley did not escape comment, along with almost one-fourth of the sitting senators in the United States Congress. The series, scheduled to begin in February, was delayed until the March 1906 issue. It was introduced in the February issue:

> This convincing story of revelation, to be told in several chapters, and to run well through the magazine year, has been called 'The Treason of the Senate' for the reason that that is a fit and logical title for this terrible arraignment of those who, sitting in the seats of the mighty in Washington, have betrayed the public to that cruel and vicious Spirit of Mammon which has come to dominate the nation.[55]

The introduction was supplemented by a Hearstian promotional campaign, complete with press releases sent to small dailies and weeklies. Before the series was published, Hearst personally read over the galley proofs and said he added more facts to the first installment. "I had intended an exposé. We have merely an attack," Hearst wrote to Phillips. "Voice is not force. Windy vituperation is not convincing... The facts, the proof, the documentary evidence are an important thing, and the article is deficient in them. We want more definite facts throughout."[56] The March issue, with the first installment, went on sale February 15. Two days later, Roosevelt wrote to Alfred Henry Lewis, a contributor to *Cosmopolitan* and a long-time Hearst employee who was known as a Roosevelt supporter:

> Now some of the articles in the *Cosmopolitan* consist of nothing but a mixture of hysteria and mendacity; and in others, in which there is a great deal of truth, there is so much suppression of the truth, or assertion or implication of the false, and so much sensationalism, that I do not think very much good will follow.[57]

Phillips labeled the "traitor Senate" ignorant, foolish, corrupt and treacherous: "A scurvy lot they are, are they not, with their smirking and cringing and voluble palaver about God and patriotism and their eager offerings of endowments for hospitals and colleges whenever the American people so much as looks hard in their direction!"[58] Much of Phillips' invective was directed at Senator Nelson Aldrich of Rhode Island, a man Roosevelt needed as an ally to get his Square Deal through Congress. Aldrich, "rotten... a thief... scurvy," was "the organizer of the treason" who spent $200,000 to bribe his way back to the Senate from his home state in 1904, according to *Cosmopolitan*.[59] One wonders about the article's tone before Hearst added facts.

Phillips showed the Senate as the inevitable result of the process of government decay.[60] His style was to present a short biography of a senator, stressing the connection between public life, private wealth and special interest voting. Phillips may be due credit for coining the term "interests," which later in the century became "special interests." In Phillips' articles, 'interests' meant the same group of people C. Wright Mills defined more than 50 years later as 'the power elite.'[61] One article noted that Aldrich's daughter married the only son of John D. Rockefeller, and this placed "the final and strongest seal upon the bonds uniting Aldrich and 'the interests.'"[62] In another example, New York Senator Chauncey Depew, a "buffoon" and "spineless sycophant" with a "greasy tongue and greasy backbone," was shown to be on 70 boards of directors.[63]

In all, Phillips named 21 senators and Roosevelt's vice president, Charles Fairbanks of Indiana, as corrupt. All but three were Republicans. There was little information in the articles that was not already on the public record, but the combination of Phillips' slashing writing style and the additive nature of the series in a large circulation magazine heightened the impact. Some historians have wondered why Hearst did not turn over the famous Archbold letters to Phillips, but it may have been because of fear of a lawsuit from the litigious President.[64]

The President's response was not legal, but it was predictable. The articles threatened his leadership. His anger was evident in a letter to a friend:

> These make-believe reformers, these preachers of rapid hatred, these ranters against corruption and in favor of social reform, these socialists who preach the creed of envy -- in short, the people like those who write in the pages of the *Cosmopolitan*, are the real enemies of every effort to secure genuine reform, to secure social, civic and political betterment.[65]

Roosevelt began planning his muckrake speech to counter the impact of the *Cosmopolitan* series and, perhaps, slow Hearst's political ambitions. He delivered the first version in a speech on March 17, 1906, at a special private Gridiron Club dinner hosted by Speaker of the House Joseph Cannon.[66] Although the speech was off the record, evidence suggests the President's remarks were circulated -- perhaps deliberately by the media-savvy Roosevelt -- as a trial balloon. Journalist Ray Stannard Baker, hearing of Roosevelt's plans, wrote to the President that such a public address would be harmful to the reform movement. In answering Baker's letter, Roosevelt said the subject of his attack would be Hearst's publishing empire and the New York *Herald*, published by James Gordon Bennett Jr.[67] In a note to a worried Upton Sinclair, the President said he was not going to attack *The Jungle*.[68] When the newspaper press' response to the off-the-record talk was positive, Roosevelt worked on the speech and prepared for an appropriate public event.[69] In the meantime, *Cosmopolitan* published the second article in Phillips' series. Like the first issue, the second installment quickly sold out. In an attempt to widen its influence, Hearst ordered the magazine's editors to grant blanket permission to all publications to reprint "not more than one-half of any single article in the series."[70]

Roosevelt delivered the muckrake speech to the general public on April 14, 1906, at the laying of the cornerstone of the United States House of Representatives office building. In the speech, he criticized those who ignored all that was good about American society while focusing only on the evil. The President did not mention any specific individuals or articles, but he seemed to have Hearst in mind when he said, "The effort to make financial or political profit out of the destruction of character can only result in public calamity."[71] Hearst was a publisher attempting to make both financial and political profit from muckraking.

The speech made headlines from coast-to-coast, including less favorable banners in Hearst's newspapers.[72] Historian Thomas Leonard noted that Roosevelt seemed to grow more angry every day -- 11 days later, the President wrote a note saying Phillips was dangerous, for the articles "excite a hysterical and ignorant feeling against everything existing, good and bad..."[73] In June, Roosevelt wrote in a letter to Lyman Abbott, "Cosmopolitan... is the friend of disorder, less from principle then from the hope of getting profit out of troubled water; and there is no element of conscience to appeal to men who write lies for hire or who hire others to lie."[74] Muckraking had become an epithet.[75]

Some historians wonder why Roosevelt did not point the finger at specific people or publications, but his correspondence indicates Root convinced him not to name Phillips, Hearst or anyone else. Journalism historian Harry Stein said Roosevelt's frank criticism of the press was intentionally muted, because at "some indistinct point a conventional boundary of fairness surrounding an elected democratic leader" would have been passed and Roosevelt would have suffered politically.[76]

What Stein recognized was that the social system had changed; the muckrakers' work reflected that people's values had shifted. Evidence of the public's interest can be found in the success of Hearst's magazine. *Cosmopolitan's* circulation increased more than 10 percent and its advertising lineage jumped 45 percent during the year of the "Treason of the Senate" series.[77] Hearst sold 450,000 copies during the month of Roosevelt's speech.[78] In a bit of Hearstian exaggeration, the June issue claimed "the *Cosmopolitan* has made so deep and lasting an impression on the reading public that twice as many men and women are reading it to-day as were reading it a year ago."[79] The publisher had also hired some of the best writing talent of the day: the June issue featured articles and fiction by Ernest Crosby, Alfred Henry Lewis, Anton Chekov, Jack London, Robert Louis Stevenson, Edwin Markham, Alan Dale, H.G. Wells and Ambrose Bierce.

As a part of its being, muckraking was a reflection of a new political awareness by the citizenry. Roosevelt was not only a Progressive: he was also titular head of the Republican Party, which entailed political responsibilities. Roosevelt's Republican Party -- which included reformers like himself as well as many senators with deeply held conservative views -- was held together by a thin thread. Hearst's muckraking threatened the thread. Outside the party, Hearst was Roosevelt's most powerful opponent. Mentioning Hearst or specific writers might have softened the blow of Roosevelt's speech or focused it elsewhere.[80]

Like any politician, Roosevelt had his friends and his enemies in the press. His speech has been interpreted by many as an indictment of all muckraking, but he often praised the work of journalists who did not work for Hearst, including Ida Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens, Ben Lindsey and Baker. Of Lindsey, who crusaded for children's rights, Roosevelt said he was "a fearless and incorruptible champion of genuine popular rights."[81] Ever the politician, the President attempted conciliation with almost everyone -- except Hearst. He asked three times to meet with Phillips, but the writer refused.[82] Tarbell's assertion that Roosevelt was concerned because the muckrakers were stealing his thunder may be seen as another way of saying the President wanted to control the direction of reform.[83]

Cosmopolitan attempted to control the debate over muckraking. In the July issue, the magazine published "An Open Letter to President Roosevelt" containing ridicule of the chief executive: "...the *Cosmopolitan* feels sorry for our estimable President. Because of his 'muck-rake' speech[,] he has called down upon himself such a mass of smiling sarcasm and ungentle comment as he never endured before." The editors wanted to take credit where credit was due: "We fully acknowledge our position as the main cause of his trouble..." Instead of a muckrake, the magazine said the man that would dig up the "slime and ooze at Washington had better use a steam dredge."[84]

Campaigning Again

To Hearst, Roosevelt was a person who "has sold himself to the devil and will live up to the bargain."[85] By late 1906, Hearst again chose to run for governor of New York, a more firm road to the presidency than a Manhattan congressional seat. He changed the name of his organization, the Municipal Ownership League, to the Independence League and won the Democratic nomination for governor.[86] His opponent was Charles Evans Hughes, a Progressive and Roosevelt favorite whom Hearst once supported. Hearst negotiated a deal with Charles Murphy, the Tammany boss, for the support of the machine that cost him the mayor's race.[87] Roosevelt wrote to Henry Cabot Lodge on the subject of Hearst's candidacy:

> Hearst's nomination is a very, very bad thing. I do not think he will be elected, and yet I cannot blind myself to his extraordinary popularity among 'have-nots' and the chance there for him because of the great agitation and unrest which we have witnessed during the last 18 months -- an agitation and unrest in large part due simply to the evil preaching of men like himself, but also due to the veritable atrocities committed by some wealthy men and by the attitudes of the Bourbon reactionaries who endeavor to prevent any remedy of the evils due to the lack of supervision of wealth.[88]

A Hughes biographer said Roosevelt was the candidate's "overseer" in the campaign. "The President, as party leader, had dedicated himself to defeating Hearst."[89] Hearst, always appealing to labor, was outdrawing Hughes at campaign rallies. Charles Edward Russell, loyal to his former boss, wrote a flattering article for *Ridgway's* about Hearst, noting his stage fright and including this reference to his previous crusades: "The weapons Mr. Hearst has chosen have not always been pretty, but it is beyond question they have been effective."[90] As Election Day neared, Roosevelt -- whom in late 1906 called Hearst "the most potent force for evil we have in our life"[91] -- sent House speaker Joseph Cannon and flinty Secretary of State Elihu Root to New York, although Hughes remained opposed to any outside help.[92] "He will speak at Utica this week and of course speak authoritatively for me," Roosevelt wrote to Jacob Riis about Root's visit.[93] Sending Root, Cannon and others "was the real way to use me in this campaign," Roosevelt wrote. "[They will] point out how Hearst and I, alike in personality, in purpose and in method, stand at the extreme opposite poles, and that his triumph means a blow at everything for which I stand."[94]

Root spent less time campaigning for Hughes than against Hearst, reminding anyone who would listen that Roosevelt held Hearst responsible for McKinley's assassination. More importantly, Root was not shy about including references to Hearst's personal life in his remarks. Swanberg said a Root speech of November 1 at Utica, N.Y., was "unexcelled as a political hatchet job."[95] A text of the speech was leaked to the Associated Press, so reporters would be sure to make their morning newspaper deadlines.[96] In the speech, Root bashed Hearst as a "demagogue, a wily capitalist posing as a friend of labor, a tax-evader, an unscrupulous newspaper publisher specializing in the incitement of hatred, a Congressman absent at 160 of 185 roll calls, [and] a corruptionist..."[97] Root reminded the crowd of Hearst's role in McKinley's assassination, saying that at the time of the shooting the new president had accused the publisher of appealing "...to the dark and evil spirits of malice and greed, envy and sullen hatred." Now, with Roosevelt's approval, Root added dramatically: "I say... that what he thought of Mr. Hearst then he thinks of Mr. Hearst now."[98] In the next day's New York *Sun*, the headlines read: "Root Speaks for Roosevelt; Scorching Arraignment for Murphy's Candidate for Governor; President Abhors Hearst; And Resents the Statement That His Policies And Hearst's Are Identical."[99]

A million and a half copies of Root's speech were reprinted and distributed around the state. Hearst lost the election by less than 60,000 votes out of 1.5 million cast, a margin of less than four percent. Further, he was the only Democrat on the ticket to lose. Joseph Pulitzer, who considered Hearst a formidable politician, said in his private notes that Hughes "could not possibly" have been elected in 1906 except for the presidential current that swept him in.[100]

CONCLUSION

This paper sought to examine Roosevelt's 1906 muckrake speech from a functionalist perspective. Social control is an ingredient of almost every social movement, including the Progressive Movement, and the muckrake speech can be seen in an overall strategy of power and control by the president, particularly in response to his most powerful opponent, Hearst.[101] If, as

William James theorized, the leadership of American thought was shifting to the 10-cent magazines, Roosevelt captured control of the debate over reform and strengthened his position in the Republican Party. At the same time, the president successfully stalled Hearst's presidential ambitions. Roosevelt saw both power and danger in the exposé. The same year as the muckrake speech, the President carried through regulation of railroads, packinghouses, food and drugs, despite a generally hostile Congress, using muckraking evidence as he saw fit.[102] Herbert Croly said Roosevelt saved the Republican Party from drifting into a position of an anti-reform party, which would have killed it.[103] Meanwhile, the President's speech, made in a political context, redefined the limits of media performance.[104]

Although a few magazines continued to muckrake until about 1911, they sometimes refused the label.[105] For example, Russell began a 1908 article on the Trinity Church tenements with the qualifier, "This is not a muckraking article. It is the story of mystery surrounding the great corporation which administers the temporal affairs of Trinity Church in New York."[106] Muckraking as a journalistic technique did not end, but its demise as a dominant social force was initiated by the Progressive leadership because of a political struggle between two powerful men.

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[1] For example, see Weinberg, Arthur and Lila, *The Muckrakers*, New York, Simon and Schuster (1961); Filler, Louis, *The Muckrakers*, University Park, Penn., Pennsylvania University Press (1976); Regier, C.C., *The Era of Muckrakers*, Chapel Hill, N.C., University of North Carolina Press (1932); Marcosson, Isaac F., *David Graham Phillips and His Times*, New York, Dodd, Mead (1932).

[2] Semonche, John, *Ray Stannard Baker: A Quest for Democracy in Modern America*, Chapel Hill, N.C., University of North Carolina Press (1969), p. 147.

[3] Walter Brasch, who is more kind to Hearst than most historians, accused Louis Filler of writing in an era (1939) of "Hearst hatred." Brasch said Hearst brought a "crusading spirit" to American journalism. See Brasch, Walter M., *Forerunners of Revolution: Muckrakers and the American Social Conscience*, Lanham, Md., University Press of America (1990).

[4] For the opposite view, see Isaac Marcosson, *David Graham Phillips and His Times*, New York, Dodd, Mead (1932). Marcosson, who is among the many who ignores the Roosevelt-Hearst relationship, claimed the President secretly agreed with Phillips, but was angry because the novelist had stolen his thunder.

[5] Ray Stannard Baker papers, Library of Congress. Also quoted in Baker, Ray Stannard, *American Chronicle*, New York, Scribner's Sons (1945), p. 203.

[6] Bleyer, Willard, *Main Currents in the History of American Journalism*, Boston, Houghtin Mifflin (1927), p. 372. Dupuy De Lome, the Spanish minister to the United States, was critical of McKinley in a private letter to a friend in Cuba. The letter was stolen by a rebel sympathizer, who took it to Hearst. The Journal used its entire front page to publicize the letter, headlining it "THE WORST INSULT TO THE UNITED STATES IN ITS HISTORY." De Lome resigned immediately and the Spanish government apologized. The incident may have been forgotten if not for the Maine explosion about three weeks later.

[7] Swanberg, W.A., *Citizen Hearst*, New York, Scribner's (1961), p. 185.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Roosevelt was an assistant secretary of the Navy at the outbreak of hostilities.

[11] Swanberg (1961), p. 200.

[12] Among the most well-known biographies is Pringle, Henry S., *Theodore Roosevelt: A Biography*, New York, Harcourt Brace (1931). A more recent favorable treatment is Lewis Gould's *The Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt*, Lawrence, Kan., University of Kansas Press (1991).

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[13] The best of the Hearst biographies is W. A. Swanberg, *Citizen Hearst*, New York, Scribner's (1961). See also Tebbel, John W., *The Life and Good Times of William Randolph Hearst*, New York, Dutton (1952); Lundberg, Ferdinand, *Imperial Hearst: A Social Biography*, New York, Equinox Cooperative Press (1936); and Carlson, Oliver and Ernest Sutherland Bates, *Hearst, Lord of San Simeon*, New York, Viking (1936).

[14] Swanberg (1961), p. 205.

[15] Ibid, p. 214.

[16] Ibid, p. 216.

[17] Ibid, p. 219.

[18] *Collier's* (February 18, 1911).

[19] Swanberg (1961), p. 227.

[20] New York *Journal* (April 10, 1901).

[21] Gould (1980).

[22] Theodore Roosevelt to Henry Cabot Lodge, September 16, 1901, Morison, Elting E., ed. *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt*, Vol. 3, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press (1951), p. 142.

[23] Swanberg (1961), p. 229.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Chicago *American* (September 27, 1901).

[26] Ibid.

[27] *The New York Times* (December 4, 1901).

[28] Peck, Harry T., *Twenty Years of the Republic*, New York, Dodd, Mead and Co. (1913), pp. 689-90.

[29] Swanberg (1961), p. 235.

[30] Ibid. Italics in original.

[31] Ibid, p. 238.

[32] Hearst was well-known for this kind of rescue work. Other times when the publisher sent help included the 1901 Galveston, Texas, hurricane and the 1906 San Francisco earthquake.

[33] Swanberg (1961), p. 238. Hearst ran Shearn for governor of New York against Charles Evans Hughes in 1908.

[34] Ibid. Capital letters in original.

[35] Mowry, George E., *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt, 1900-1912*, New York, Harper (1958), p. 138.

[36] Swanberg (1961), p. 237.

[37] Ibid, p. 238.

[38] *The New York Times* (Oct. 28, 1902).

[39] Swanberg (1961), p. 242.

[40] Ibid, pp. 248-49.

[41] New York *Tribune* (April 24, 1904).

[42] New York *Tribune* (March 30, 1904).

[43] New York *Tribune* (May 12, 1904).

[44] New York *Tribune* (July 10, 1904).

[45] Swanberg (1961), p. 273.

[46] Russell, Charles Edward, *Bare Hands and Stone Walls*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons (1933), p. 140.

[47] Theodore Roosevelt to Julius H. Mayer, February 17, 1906, Morison, Vol. 5, p. 156.

[48] Phillips, David Graham, *The Treason of the Senate*, George E. Mowry and Judson Grenier, eds., Chicago, Quadrangle Books (1964).

[49] Russell (1933), p. 142.

[50] Ibid, p. 143.

[51] Lydenberg, John, "Pre-Muckraking: A Study of Attitudes Toward Politics as Revealed in American Fiction From 1870 to 1901," Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University (1946). It was Twain who wrote, "It could probably be shown by facts and figures that there is no distinctly native American criminal class except Congress," in *Following the Equator* (1897).

[52] Kaplan, Justin, *Lincoln Steffens*, New York, Simon and Schuster (1974), p. 179.

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[53] Mowry and Grenier, (1964).

[54] *Cosmopolitan* (February 1906).

[55] Ibid.

[56] Tebbel, John W., *The Life and Good Times of William Randolph Hearst*, New York, Dutton (1952), pp. 150-51.

[57] Morison, Vol. V, (1951), p. 156-57.

[58] *Cosmopolitan* (March 1906).

[59] Ibid.

[60] Filler (1976), p. 255.

[61] Mills, C. Wright, *The Power Elite*, New York, Oxford (1956).

[62] *Cosmopolitan* (March 1906).

[63] Depew had delivered the nominating speech for Roosevelt when he ran for governor of New York in 1898.

[64] The Archbold letters were obtained by Hearst beginning in late 1904, when he purchased them from a man who stole them from John D. Archbold, executive vice president of Standard Oil. The letters indicated Archbold had influenced legislation with the help of several senators, including Hanna, Foraker, Penrose, Bailey and Quay. The letters would have documented some of Phillips' accusations.

[65] Theodore Roosevelt to Lyman Abbott, March 16, 1906, as quoted in Semonche, John, "Theodore Roosevelt's Muckraking Speech: A Reassessment," *Mid-America* (April 1964), p. 118.

[66] Pringle, Henry S., *Theodore Roosevelt: A Biography*, New York, Harcourt Brace (1931), pp. 427-28.

[67] Semonche (1964), p. 120.

[68] Theodore Roosevelt to Upton Sinclair, April 11, 1906, Morison, Vol. 5, p. 208.

[69] Semonche (1964), p. 120.

[70] Editor's note, *Cosmopolitan* (June 1906).

[71] As quoted in Arthur and Lila Weinberg, *The Muckrakers*, New York, Simon and Schuster (1961), pp. 59-60. Roosevelt actually misused the muckraker analogy as taken from John Bunyan. The original meaning of the muck of the barnyard was as a representative of money and material things. The muckraker image would better represent a greedy industrialist, rather than a journalist, in its original form.

[72] The headline in Hearst's New York *American* the next day (April 15, 1906) read "Roosevelt Scolds Critics of Graft in his 'Muck-Rake' Speech. Expresses the Fear That Too Much Light on Corruption Impairs the Public Eyesight." A front-page cartoon turned Roosevelt's argument around, showing the President as the muckraker, stirring up the Senate.

[73] Leonard, Thomas C., *The Power of the Press: The Birth of American Political Reporting*, New York, Oxford University Press (1986), p. 213.

[74] Theodore Roosevelt to Lyman Abbott, June 18, 1906, Morison, Vol. 5, p. 307.

[75] Filler (1976), p. 253.

[76] Stein, Harry, "Theodore Roosevelt and the Press: Lincoln Steffens," *Mid-America* (April 1972), p. 99.

[77] Barry, Peter N., "The Decline of the Muckrakers: A View From the Magazines," Ph.D. dissertation, Wayne State University (1973), pp. 405-06, 411.

[78] The March and April issues sold out. Hearst claimed subscriptions rose 50 percent from 1905, but the best evidence Barry could find was that the figure was probably closer to 12 percent.

[79] The quotation is from the cover of the June 1906 *Cosmopolitan*.

[80] Ibid, p. 125

[81] Roosevelt, Theodore, "Nationalism and Democracy," *Outlook* (March 25, 1911).

[82] Filler (1976), p. 253.

[83] Tarbell, Ida M., *All in the Day's Work*, New York, Macmillan (1939), p. 230. One of Roosevelt's biggest financial backers in the 1904 campaign was Standard Oil. This was not revealed until Roosevelt retired from the Presidency in 1909 and Hearst disclosed the famous Archbold letters.

[84] "An Open Letter to President Roosevelt," *Cosmopolitan* (July 1906).

[85] Quoted in the New York *Herald* (Nov. 2, 1906).

[86] Independence Leaguers were also on the ballot for lieutenant governor and secretary of state.

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[87] Swanberg (1961), pp. 288-90. Charles Edward Russell muckraked the political machine in New York for *Cosmopolitan* in December 1907, after Hearst lost the races for mayor and governor and did not want Tammany help any more.

[88] Theodore Roosevelt to Henry Cabot Lodge, October 1, 1906, in *Theodore Roosevelt Cyclopedia*, Albert Bushnell Hart and Berbert Ronald Ferleger, eds., Roosevelt House, New York (1941), pp. 224-25.

[89] Wesser, Robert F., *Charles Evans Hughes: Politics and Reform in New York, 1905-1910*, Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University Press (1967), p. 90.

[90] Russell, Charles Edward, "Hearst As I Knew Him," *Ridgway's* (October 13, 1906).

[91] Theodore Roosevelt to John St. Loestrachy, October 25, 1906, as quoted in Mowry and Grenier (1964), p. 36.

[92] Wesser (1967), p. 95.

[93] Theodore Roosevelt to Jacob Riis, October 28, 1906, Jacob Riis papers, Library of Congress.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Swanberg (1961), p. 299.

[96] Wesser (1967), p. 96.

[97] Swanberg (1961), p. 299.

[98] Wesser (1967), p. 97.

[99] New York *Sun* (November 2, 1906).

[100] "Notes" file in Joseph Pulitzer papers, Library of Congress.

[101] Hearst did not hold a grudge against Roosevelt where money was concerned. When Roosevelt announced that he would not run in 1908, Hearst tried in vain to hire him as a columnist for his papers. Hearst knew of Roosevelt's value to his circulation.

[102] Chalmers, David Mark, *The Muckrake Years*, New York, Van Nostrand (1974).

[103] Croly, Herbert, *The Promise of American Life*, Cambridge, Mass., Belknap Press (1909) (1965 ed.), p. 171. Croly said Hearst was a "menace" whose "whole programme is incoherent." (p. 163-67).

[104] On the opposite side of the coin, the media had attempted to define limits of behavior by senators.

[105] See the example given by Barry (1973), p. 15. He told of Russell's article on the Trinity Church, which was specifically labeled "not muckraking" by *NewBroadway* magazine in 1908, but the article fits every definition of muckraking.

[106] Russell, Charles Edward, "Trinity: Church of Mystery," *BroadwayMagazine* (April 1908).

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"We Shall No Longer Play Fool": The Black Press in the "Nadir" of African-Americans

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Abstract

Research on the press in American society has largely ignored minority publications and their primary audiences.

This paper examined the black press in the late 19th century, an era in which legalized racial segregation, increasing influence of Social Darwinism, and rise of Booker T. Washington combined to, in effect, institutionalize racial inequality. In this atmosphere, black newspapers were likely increasingly important in shaping African-American attitudes toward race relations.

Twelve black newspapers were examined for reactions to Supreme Court decisions in 1883 and 1896 that eliminated legal protections for African-American civil rights. The newspapers strongly denounced each decision, but at a more influential level, the outlook for race relations changed from one of hope in 1883 to disillusionment and a call for violence in 1896.

Thus, while social, political and legal developments helped white Americans believe themselves superior, racial antagonism every bit as real was being sown among blacks.

"We Shall No Longer Play Fool":
The Black Press in the "Nadir" of African-Americans[1]

Introduction

Research on the press in American society has predominantly focused on the development and influence of mainstream journalism, largely ignoring minority publications and their primary audiences. The black press particularly, with its rich history of agitation for the civil rights of African-Americans, merits further examination.[2] An era that might be especially enlightening is the late 19th century, a period that historian Rayford Logan terms "the nadir" for black Americans.[3]

Following the Civil War, race relations in America were in a unique position: For possibly the first time since English settlers arrived, all American blacks were legally free. Within five years after the war, Congress, in an attempt to assure that African-Americans would enjoy the full privileges of American citizenship, passed the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution. The Thirteenth abolished slavery; the Fourteenth guaranteed citizenship and equality before the law for blacks; and the Fifteenth established that voting rights could not be denied because of race or skin color. These "War amendments" were enforced and extended by Civil Rights Acts passed in 1866, 1870, 1871 and 1875.[4]

Over the last quarter of the century, however, the legalized segregation of blacks and whites, increasing influence of Social Darwinism on Northern leaders, and rise of Booker T. Washington as the leading spokesman for his race combined with other social and cultural forces to eliminate most of these rights and privileges, in effect institutionalizing racial inequality in America.[5] This paper examines the response of the black press to these developments.

It is likely that the public influences the press and the press influences the public -- helping to construct what James Carey calls an "ordered" and "meaningful" world for its participants -- although such influences are difficult to measure.[6] Further, Carey said, the press figures prominently in the creation and maintenance of a "shared culture," with "shared even if illusory beliefs" among members of a society.[7] This view, as argued by Raymond Williams, who theorized that communication is essential in constructing "reality," is best summarized in his words:

> Many people seem to assume as a matter of course that there is, first, reality, and then, second, communication about it. . . . The struggle to learn, to describe, to understand, to educate, is a central and necessary part of our humanity. This struggle is not begun at second hand after reality has occurred. It is, in itself, a major way in which reality is continually formed and changed. What we call society is not only a network of political and economic arrangements, but also a process of learning and communication.[8]

Similarly, James Curran, Michael Gurevitch and Janet Woollacott posit that, in the construction of social reality, media are integral in consolidating and fortifying the values and attitudes of audience members.[9]

That the press plays a particularly central role in the development of *racial* attitudes is the perspective of Herbert Blumer, who theorized that race prejudice is rooted not in personal views and feelings, but in relationships between racial groups.[10] Blumer said:

> A basic understanding of race prejudice must be sought in the process by which racial groups form images of themselves and of others. This process . . . is fundamentally *a collective process.* It operates chiefly through the public media in which individuals who are accepted as the spokesmen of a racial group characterize publicly another racial group. To characterize another racial group is, by opposition, to define one's own group. This is equivalent to placing the two groups in relation to each other, or defining their positions vis-a-vis each other. It is the *sense of social position* emerging from this collective process of characterization which provides the basis of race prejudice.[11]

Blumer acknowledged, however, that, as individuals in dominant and subordinant racial groups interact, the sense of relative group positions can either grow and become entrenched or weaken and disappear.[12]

bell hooks has argued, though, that media images of African-Americans "reinforce and reinscribe white supremacy," thus fortifying divisions between racial groups. hooks said that the "institutionalization via mass media of specific images, representations of race, of blackness . . . support and maintain the oppression, exploitation, and overall domination of all black people."[13] Further, these images may be constructed in the mainstream (i.e., white) press by people who have not divested of racism, or by African-Americans in the black press "who may see the world through the lens of white supremacy -- internalized racism."[14]

The reaction of the black press to the civil rights developments in the late 19th century, then, likely had at least two-fold importance: It helped to form racial attitudes by establishing the "reality" of the relative positions of whites and blacks, and influenced whether individual attitudes toward white Americans became rooted. Such influence might be particularly true of the black press during the late 19th century, a critical period in race relations when many black Americans who expected to experience new freedoms were forced to turn (or return) to their own communities for a shared culture. Further, this period was marked by a large increase in black newspapers,[15] many of which were published by editors considered spokesmen for African-Americans.[16] In such an environment, the black press very likely was increasingly important in shaping attitudes among African-Americans.

Therefore, to better understand the historical legacy of American race relations, it seems essential to examine the black press in the midst of significant influences such as segregation, Social Darwinism and Booker T. Washington's accommodationism. How the black press responded to such developments likely reflected, shaped and fortified the views of African-Americans. This research, then, was guided primarily by the question of whether the black press reflected a shift from optimism to discouragement over race relations during the last quarter of the 19th century. With this question as a guide, research reported here analyzed twelve black newspapers' coverage of two Supreme Court decisions: the *Civil Rights Cases* in 1883, which denied federal protection against private discrimination in public accommodations, and *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896, which instituted the "separate but equal" doctrine of race relations.[17] More specific research questions will be explained below but it is important first to locate this research in the literature on black press history.

Review of Literature

There are few analytical histories of the black press, in part because copies of newspapers are difficult to locate; further, research has focused primarily on either early, abolitionist papers, or post-World War II black journalism. The black press in the last quarter of the 19th century has been largely ignored or black journalists in this period have been assumed to be uncompromising agitators for their race.[18]

Two themes common in most research are historiographical models focusing on "great editors"[19] and a Whig view of the black press as the ultimate champion for equality, liberty and justice. Some of these works, though reviewed for the present research, are not discussed here because they offer little insight into the role and reaction of the press in the late 19th century.[20] In recent decades, however, historians have increasingly treated the black press as an institution that interacts in the larger society, yet is integral in building and maintaining an African-American culture.[21]

Literature, therefore, was examined to ascertain the focus of existing research on the black press and whether scholars have considered its relation to the increasing social and legal inequality in the late 19th century.

An article by Armistead S. Pride based on his unpublished dissertation is among the most influential works in this area, cataloguing as well as beginning to analyze the development of the black press in America from 1827 to 1950.[22] Regarding race relations and the press, Pride said that the black press "is something that has been absolutely necessary in the day-to-day life of the American Negro" because the mainstream press "has reflected the prejudices and discrimination that have penetrated the whole of American life."[23] Pride's work, the first to assess the scope and role of the black press, is limited in analysis, however, and does not examine the press's reaction, and influence in relation, to particular events or eras.

"Booker T. Washington and the Negro Press," a 1953 article in *Journal of Negro History*, examines a secretive relationship. August Meier's examination of Washington's personal letters reveals he had financial ties to a number of black newspapers and periodicals, including the influential New York *Age* and Washington D.C. *Colored American Magazine*, through which Washington often was able to preach his public message of racial accommodation, greatly extending his range of influence.[24]

In other research on Booker T. Washington, however, Emma Lou Thornbrough argues that, in contrast to Meier's claims, "there was a sharp division of opinion" among black editors in their treatment of Washington.[25] Thornbrough examines the relationship between Washington and *Age* editor T. Thomas Fortune, the leading black editor of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, which began as a friendship but later developed into Washington's provision of financial support for the *Age*. Thornbrough claims that "the *Age* was by no means merely a vehicle for the expression of Washington's ideas. The militant Fortune and the conservative Washington sometimes disagreed publicly on questions affecting the race."[26] Although Meier and Thornbrough provide insight into Washington's influence, their works begin with the year 1900, when Washington's financial ties with the press apparently began. (The present research, concerned with both the press and Washington, focuses on the years 1883 to 1896.)

Thornbrough's 1966 article, "American Negro Newspapers, 1880-1914," the most analytical for the era under study here, examines the financial and political subsidization of such papers as the New York *Age,* Washington *Bee,* Indianapolis *Freeman* and Cleveland *Gazette,* the growing influence (socially and financially) of Booker T. Washington on the press, and the form and content of various black papers.[27] Although Thornbrough said that the *Age, Gazette* and *Bee* were usually "militant and uncompromising" regarding racial equality, while others, such as the *Freeman,* adopted a more compromising attitude, she seems to assume that the editorial positions did not change over time.[28] She does not address, for example, whether the *Age* and the *Bee* were as uncompromising when the Supreme Court removed legal protections.

Recent research has built on the works of Pride and Thornbrough with analyses of the black press's role in society. Particularly important for the present study is Martin E. Dann's consideration of the black press's role in the larger social, political and economic climates from 1827 to 1890.[29] Dann writes, "[T]he black press provided one of the most potent arenas in which the battle for self-definition could be fought and won," and adds that "[p]erhaps the most important function of the black press was in building self-confidence and self-respect as a foundation for black self-determination and black unity."[30] In a chapter titled, "The Black Man and Politics," Dann quotes passages from many newspapers regarding civil rights abuses; unfortunately, he uses the press to assess public opinion in different years without considering changes in editorial content.

In a 1986 article, Teresa C. Klassen and Owen V. Johnson examine a weekly black newspaper within the socio-historical context of a rural Kansas town in the last decade of the 19th century.[31] Klassen and Johnson's analysis of the societal influences on the *Blade* could serve as an exemplary historiographical model: They focus on the *Blade* in 1892 and 1897, examining whether the *Blade*'s commentary shifted to match changes in the racial environment of its surrounding community. By doing so, Klassen and Johnson consider the role of the black press in possibly "increasing black consciousness" and in laying a foundation for the 20th century mass-circulation black press.[32]

In a similar approach, a 1990 *Journalism Quarterly* article, "From Black Politics to Black Community: Harry C. Smith and the Cleveland *Gazette*," examines the *Gazette* in the sociocultural context of 1886 and 1896 to "discover how the role of black newspapers changed in the period."[33] Authors Summer E. Stevens and Owen V. Johnson found that the newspaper shifted its focus from local news and partisan (Republican) politics in 1886 to national news and a concern for home life, social betterment and education in 1896 as it played an increasingly central role in the city's African-American culture. The authors do not examine the *Gazette*'s reaction to *Plessy v. Ferguson* in May 1896, though they do concur with Thornbrough's assessment of Smith as an uncompromising advocate of his race, noting that Smith rejected Booker T. Washington's accommodationist position.[34] Stevens and Johnson conclude that "because of its prominence in both the local and national arenas, the newspaper should be seen as having surpassed the church as the most important institution in black life of this period."[35]

To summarize, much research on the black press has focused on "great editors" with little to no analysis of the broader context; some, including that by Pride and Thornbrough, has examined the press in its social, political, and economic contexts; less scholarship, such as that by Dann, Klassen and Johnson, and Stevens and Johnson, has considered the press's role in creating and maintaining a shared African-American culture. Unexamined in sufficient depth, however, is the black press's reaction to the social and legal developments in the late 19th century that effectively institutionalized racial inequality in America. Some further discussion of these developments follow here to provide a context within which to review the research findings.

Historical Context

Despite the war amendments, racial divisions in the late 19th century remained. Reconstruction ended in 1877 with the withdrawal of federal troops from the South by President Rutherford B. Hayes and, according to historian Charles E. Wynes, by the mid-1870s paternalistic Southern conservatives had generally succeeded in putting "the Negro in his place" and had consolidated their hold over both politics and blacks.[36] Logan said that Hayes had helped to allay the bitterness between the North and South, but in so doing, had "abandoned 'the poor colored people of the South' to the 'honorable and influential Southern whites.' . . . White supremacy was more securely entrenched in the South when he left the White House [in 1881] than it had been when he entered it."[37]

Race relations in the North were not much different. Leon F. Litwack and Leonard L. Richards have argued that the strongest racial prejudice existed "north of slavery."[38] Republicans soon tired of the political costs of Reconstruction, and as memory of the Civil War faded, white Northerners, who had little real interest in blacks to begin with, lost virtually all interest.[39] As Southern race demagogue "Pitchfork" Ben Tillman, addressing the North, said: "You do not love [blacks] any better than we do. You used to pretend that you did, but you no longer pretend it."[40]

Origins of Segregation

Historians disagree about the origins of segregation, but most generally agree that *de facto* segregation was common by the early 1880s, though *de jure* segregation remained largely absent, being theoretically prohibited by the Civil Rights Act of 1875, which provided that "all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States shall be entitled to the full and equal enjoyment of . . . inns, public conveyances, and other places of amusement."[41] This law, a mere irritant to the South, nonetheless gave African-Americans hope that the federal government would eventually rectify the state of race relations.[42] By the late 1870s, three cases reached the Supreme Court dealing with federal prosecutions of individuals, under the Act, for denying accommodations to blacks because of their race.[43] Solicitor General Samuel F. Phillips, in his brief for the cases, emphasized the necessity of the Civil War amendments and civil rights acts.[44]

On Oct. 15, 1883, in the *Civil Rights Cases* decision, the Supreme Court ruled that the 1875 Act was unconstitutional, based upon two essential points: the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment forbade states and not individuals to discriminate on the basis of race; second, the amendment authorized Congress to adopt only corrective, not general legislation.[45] The Court's majority opinion argued that while the war amendments were passed to help blacks, at some point blacks ceased to be "the special favorite of the laws" and took "the rank of mere citizen."[46] This decision thus denied to blacks federal protection against private discrimination in public accommodations and assured, as Logan has argued, the passivity of the federal government in the face of subsequent Jim Crow laws and other forms of race discrimination.[47]

Drawing the Color Line

Changes across the South soon followed the Court's ruling in the *Civil Rights Cases*. In his study of blacks in Mississippi from 1865-1890, Vernon L. Wharton found that "in the early part of the period, most of the saloons served whites and Negroes at the same bar. Many of the restaurants, using separate tables, served both races in the same room." But, he added, "By 1890, such cases were practically unknown."[48] C. Vann Woodward said the first genuine Jim Crow law appeared in Florida in 1887, requiring railroads to carry blacks in separate cars or behind partitions.[49] Although such laws would eventually be challenged in *Plessy,* Mississippi followed this example in 1888, Texas in 1889, Louisiana in 1890, Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia and Tennessee in 1891, and Kentucky in 1892.[50]

When Charles Dudley Warner in 1887 asked leading Nashville black businessmen, "What do you want here in the way of civil rights that you have not?" the answer was, "We want to be treated like men, like anybody else regardless of color. . . . We want public conveyances open to us according to the fare we pay; we want the privilege to go to hotels and to theatres, operas and places of amusement."[51] In 1888, the Atlanta *Constitution* reported that five of Atlanta's 68 saloons served only blacks and only two catered to both blacks and whites.[52] In 1889, South Carolina repealed its anti-discrimination passed in 1868, and in 1895 the same state disfranchised blacks.[53] According to Howard Rabinowitz, in only one area of Southern life -- streetcar systems -- was the shift to segregation relatively incomplete by 1890.[54]

In the 1890s, the influence of Social Darwinism on American thought and the response of many black leaders to segregation, shaped significantly by Booker T. Washington, further convinced Northern leaders of inequality between races. Social Darwinism, coupled with the laissez-faire doctrine, was a set of beliefs advocating a minimum of governmental interference with the economy and society so that the fittest individuals would be free to demonstrate their superiority.[55] Logan said:

> Applying [Charles] Darwin's theories about the animal kingdom to man, the Social Darwinists compounded [Joseph] Gobineau's theories about the inferiority of the races and [Herbert] Spencer's assertion of the "survival of the fittest" to prove the superiority of the white.[56]

All good Spencerians -- including most sociologists -- agreed that society, the organism of evolution, could not be refashioned by legislation.[57] According to Logan, Northern racial attitudes were more influenced by Social Darwinism, since

Southerners already considered blacks to be inferior,[58] and Richard Hofstadter and Thomas Gossett have linked racism and imperialism among many American leaders during this era.[59]

William Graham Sumner, professor of political and social science at Yale, 1872-1909, was a leader in developing American thought about the inferiority of blacks.[60] Biologists and anthropologists readily confirmed "Negro inferiority," while Sumner asserted that "legislation cannot make mores."[61] Sumner said that "if you asked Thomas Jefferson, when he was writing the first paragraph of the Declaration of Independence, whether in 'all men' he meant to include Negroes, he would have said that he was not talking about Negroes."[62]

Booker T. Washington came to the fore of race relations at the Atlanta Cotton States Exposition in 1895, the year abolitionist leader Frederick Douglass died. In an address during opening ceremonies, Washington held up his right hand, fingers spread, and said, "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers." Closing his fingers into a fist, he declared, "Yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."[63] According to Logan, Washington's expression of accommodation to current racial inequities was exactly what the audience, filled with influential leaders from across the nation, wanted to hear.[64] Almost immediately, white Americans regarded Washington as the spokesman for his entire race on all important subjects.[65]

Setting aside social and political equality, Washington emphasized economic advancement, self-help, and industrial education. W.E.B. DuBois, a contemporary of Washington, wrote in 1903:

> It startled the nation to hear a Negro advocating such a programme after many decades of bitter complaint; it startled and won the applause of the South, it interested and won the admiration of the North; and after a confused murmur of protest, it silenced if it did not convert the Negroes themselves.[66]

Historian Louis R. Harlan, however, has shown a resistance in the approach of Washington, who often worked behind the scenes against grandfather clauses and disfranchisement.[67] These secretive efforts, though, were unseen by virtually all white (and most black) Americans. Thus, Washington publicly did little to advance the cause of blacks or to diminish his prestige among whites, and Logan argues that "Washington's Atlanta Compromise address consoled the consciences of the judges of the Supreme Court, who in Plessy v. Ferguson, the following year, wrote into American jurisprudence one of the least defensible doctrines."[68]

Plessy v. Ferguson involved a prosecution of a black passenger for refusing to obey a Louisiana statute requiring separation of whites and blacks on railway cars. On May 18, 1896, the Supreme Court declared that laws requiring segregation did not necessarily imply "the inferiority of either race to the other" and that separate schools had been held valid in several Northern courts. The majority opinion said, "If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them upon the same plane."[69] A powerful dissent by John Marshall Harlan had little impact as, Woodward said, the Court "gave voice to the dominant mood of the country."[70]

Method

Given these conditions, research focused on reaction in twelve black newspapers to events in the two years of significant developments in race relations, 1883 and 1896. Research was guided primarily by the question of whether these newspapers reflected a shift from optimism in 1883 to discouragement by 1896 over the state of race relations. More specific research questions asked: Did these newspapers counsel African-Americans to have patience despite the Supreme Court rulings? Or did they advocate violence as a means to achieving racial equality?

Were some of these black newspapers more accommodating than others in views of segregation, paralleling views of Booker T. Washington?

It was impossible to examine the reaction of all black newspapers to the *Civil Rights Cases* in 1883 and *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896, so these twelve were selected for study based on at least two of three reasons. First, historians generally agree they and their editors were leaders among the era's black *and* white communities, in both the North and South. Second, it was thought some smaller, less-prominent newspapers would provide additional insight into the range of racial perspectives of late 19th-century African-Americans. Third, newspapers from different regions were included because the press, both then and now, is not monolithic or singular in its views.

The papers examined from 1883 were the New York *Globe* (later the *Age*), Washington *Bee*, Cleveland *Gazette*, Washington D.C. *People's Advocate*, Mobile *Gazette*, Charleston *New Era*, and Huntsville (Ala.) *Gazette*. For 1896, papers examined were the *Bee*, Cleveland *Gazette*, Indianapolis *Freeman*, Richmond *Planet*, Baltimore *Afro-American*, Kansas City *American Citizen*, and Savannah *Tribune*. Five papers were dropped between dates of analysis because they ceased publication or 1896 copies were unavailable, and five were added because they began publishing after 1883 and became widely read.[71]

More Northern papers were chosen because the most prestigious newspapers, such as the *Globe/Age*, *Bee* and Cleveland *Gazette*, were published in that region, and some historians (e.g., Pride and Thornbrough) agree that papers published in the North were read as much among blacks in the South as in the North.[72] Further, in 1880 Washington, D.C., was outranked only by New Orleans and Baltimore in its number of blacks; by 1900, Washington, D.C., had the largest urban black group in the United States, followed in order by Baltimore, New Orleans and New York City.[73] Finally, as suggested by Pride, Northern papers were often more free to protest and generally cause trouble for the establishment than were Southern papers; immediate social and economic pressures left Southern papers "quite often at the mercy of the printer" or other local leaders, while Northern papers, publishing thousands of miles away, were largely "granted a free hand in cultivating the more dissident and restive elements of the Negro South."[74]

Historians long have identified the *Globe/Age, Bee,* Cleveland *Gazette* and *Planet* as the most influential of the late-19th-century black press. *Globe* editor T. Thomas Fortune, according to Thornbrough, "was generally acknowledged to be the most brilliant Negro journalist of the period,"[75] while William Calvin Chase of the *Bee,* Harry Smith of the *Gazette,* and John Mitchell, Jr., of the *Planet,* also were highly regarded.[76] The four papers were known for militant positions on race matters and partisan backing of the Republican party; in fact, most African-American papers of the period were staunchly Republican because that party had emancipated the slaves.[77]

The Washington D.C. *People's Advocate,* Indianapolis *Freeman* and Baltimore *Afro-American* were more compromising on race matters than these papers but nonetheless gained much influence and circulated nationally while also representing African-American communities in middle America.[78] The Kansas City *American Citizen,* a smaller paper with primarily only local influence, was published in an important urban area in the Midwest, while the Mobile *Gazette,* Charleston *New Era,* Huntsville *Gazette* and Savannah *Tribune* were among the small-but-influential papers across the South. Alton Hornsby said the *Tribune,* which published almost continuously from 1875 to 1960, "mirrored and was mirrored by the Reconstruction and post-Reconstruction eras."[79]

Each paper published weekly or bi-weekly, so four issues were examined following the Supreme Court's rulings on Oct. 15, 1883, and May 18, 1896. All articles and editorials about the decision were read,[80] and the analysis focused on the tone of the protest (pleased, indifferent, angry, outraged), the advised response for blacks (accommodation, patience without acquiescence, violence), and the outlook for the future (optimistic, pragmatic, discouraged). To restate, a monolithic protest among the press or among African-Americans was not expected; the goal was to examine whether there were common shifts in views on race relations in different newspapers.

Findings

In answer to the primary research question, a shift in attitude toward race relations was found in these newspapers over the period studied. In 1883 the papers responded to the *Civil Rights Cases* with a mixture of outrage and optimism. In 1896, after the Court's ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, outrage again was common in the papers examined, but optimism had been replaced with discouragement and, in some cases, despair.

In response to the second question about whether these newspapers counseled African-Americans to have patience despite the Supreme Court's rulings, differences were found between dates of study. In 1883, although each decried the Court's decision, the newspapers reflected hope for race relations and counseled blacks to wait patiently for justice. In 1896, the newspapers again protested the Court's ruling, but none of the newspapers reflected the view that African-Americans should have patience in the struggle for racial equality.

In response to the third question about whether these newspapers advocated violence as a means to achieving racial equality, differences were again found between dates of study. In 1883, despite reflecting outrage, none of the newspapers advocated violence in the quest for racial equality; in 1896, however, several of the newspapers had replaced patience with threats of violence.

In response to the fourth question concerning whether some of these newspapers were more accommodating than others in their views of segregation, differences were found in the intensity of reaction among the newspapers, including between Northern and Southern papers. Attitudes of accommodationism, similar to those advocated by Booker T. Washington in the 1890s, were found only among Southern papers, while among Northern papers the intensity of responses to the Court decisions varied.

1883: Outrage, Yet Hope

The response to the *Civil Rights Cases* among newspapers examined was characterized by outrage and optimism, though, as expected, some were more vociferous than others. The *Globe, Gazette* and *People's Advocate* were the most militant. The *Globe,* in its lead editorial in the first edition following the ruling, said the Court "declares that we have no civil rights." The fury of editor T. Thomas Fortune shines through:

> Then, what is the position in which the Supreme Court has left us? Simply this -- we have the ballot without any law to protect us in the enjoyment of it; we are declared to be created equal, and entitled to certain rights, among them life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, but there is no law to protect us in the enjoyment of them. We are aliens in our native land.[81]

Beneath the anger, though, a determination was apparent: Fortune believed that the battle for equality eventually would be won. He said blacks should not "be browbeaten into servile compliance by adverse decisions" because "we are free men; we are American citizens."[82] The use of the plural "we" appears consistently in all of the papers examined, reflecting the editors' acknowledgement of the press's role as a shaper of opinions and spokesperson for African-Americans.

The Cleveland *Gazette* reflected more outrage than the *Globe.* Beginning with the first issue after the decision, the *Gazette* editor devoted a majority of its space to reactions among African-Americans, both local and national. For four issues (one month), the front page was dominated by stories denouncing the ruling. One editorial said that, contrary to claims that it would have little effect in the North, "the decision will close hundreds of hotels, places of amusement and other public places here in the North to our people. . . . We have and have had the sympathy, well-wishes and something more substantial from the intelligent people in this country."[83] Another stated simply, "Representative men of all races stigmatize [the] decision . . . as *infamous, outrageous and not in accordance with the will of the people.*"[84] In essence, the *Gazette* editors claimed that blacks should have hope, as "intelligent" Americans "of all races" recognized the ignominy of the ruling.

The Washington, D.C., papers had similar responses that focused on the inevitability of racial equality. An editorial in the *People's Advocate,* which was not particularly recognized for its militance or editorial vigor, said:

> The Supreme Court has not the power to stay the march of progress any more now than it did when the Dred Scott decision was rendered [in 1857]. That was an anachronism. So is this.
>
> Six years ago such an interpretation [by the Court] would have delayed for a generation the good work; but now the cause has so advanced in such a large section of the country that the onward current can no longer be stayed.[85]

Another editorial said, "The Supreme Court does not place us where we were twenty years ago, far from it."[86] The city rival *Bee* was temporarily suspended for financial reasons and did not publish until a month after the *Civil Rights Cases* decision.[87] Upon re-publication, though, the *Bee* editor made clear his position, printing hostile reactions of seven other papers and editorializing: "We believe in civil and political liberty. We maintain that the constitution of the United States is sufficient in itself to protect the citizens of the United States irrespective of color or previous condition of servitude."[88]

As expected, the three Southern papers reacted less demonstratively. Each contained strong denunciations of the Court, though such opinions were always attributed to individuals -- an indication of the editors' concerns for survival. The Mobile *Gazette* content was reserved while its editors tried to focus on the positive aspects of the ruling. An editorial said:

> Practically, the decision . . . will have no effect in this section of the south other than possibly to re-open the race issue which has been regarded as settled.
>
> The colored people of the south have not been obtrusive. . . .
>
> The whole community was settling down to the conviction that equal rights for all was a principle firmly established; but the colored element did not offensively demand any social rights.[89]

That African-Americans would be satisfied with equal legal rights is as apparent in the editorial as the point that blacks had "not been obtrusive," nor had they "offensively" demanded any rights. The editorial, then, likely reflects the dilemma of activist Southern blacks in this era.

More optimism for the future of race relations was reflected in the Charleston *New Era*. An editorial began by counseling, "Let us be patient." The editorial continued, "The objection to our commingling unreservedly with the whites, can be overcome, by education, and by such personal methods as will make us more presentable, than we could possibly be, under the degrading conditions of slavery." The editorial concluded that changes "cannot be done in a day, or in a year. It will take time."[90] Further, a *New Era* article two weeks later pointed out that South Carolina had a civil rights law equally as strong as the invalidated federal law.[91]

The first edition of the Huntsville *Gazette* after the ruling contained several stories about it, all of which included reaction from both sides; two weeks later a letter from a Mobile correspondent asserted that the Civil Rights Act of 1875 had not "amount[ed] to much," but nonetheless had promised "there was a court of last resort" for black Americans. "Such was not the case, however," the correspondent bemoaned. The same edition had the *Gazette*'s only editorial comment on the ruling: "Worse things have happened to the Negro than the Civil Rights decision and he is still here stronger than ever."[92] The *Gazette*, then, as did the other papers, focused on the fortitude of black Americans and the eventual rectification of racial inequities.

1896: Outrage Without Hope

After *Plessy v. Ferguson* the black press reflected outrage, as it had following the *Civil Rights Cases* 13 years earlier; the optimism apparent in 1883, however, had been replaced with threats of violence and attitudes of accommodationism similar to those espoused by Booker T. Washington.

In 1883, Cleveland *Gazette* editor Harry C. Smith had filled four editions with vitriolic protests, but during the same timespan in 1896, Smith ran only two articles on the Court's ruling, and both were concise in their condemnation. A *Gazette* editorial said, "The recent 'civil rights' decision of the supreme court . . . [is] about as ridiculous an ultimatum as is to-day the notorious Chief Justice Taney's famous alleged statement [in Dred Scott] that 'black men have no rights that white men are bound to respect.'"[93] Since in 1883 much of the *Gazette*'s coverage focused on protests among black leaders, it is possible that the paper's limited response to the *Plessy* decision reflected a reduced level of outcry among black leaders.

More clear, however, is the discouragement reflected in the Indianapolis *Freeman* and the combination of disgust and threatened violence in the Washington *Bee*, Richmond *Planet* and Baltimore *Afro-American*. The *Freeman*, less militant than the Cleveland *Gazette*, *Bee* or *Planet*, responded to the ruling not so much with a compromising tone as with despair. A *Freeman* editorial said:

> The decision will have a demoralizing effect. It will do much towards destroying the faith that Negroes may have in any institutions that white men control. At the reception of this news the Negroes of this country will ponder well his [sic] situation. It may not be the setting sun

> of his hopes, but such decisions are drastic upon his reasoning powers. . . . No matter what direction the Negro turns opposition stands like a stone wall.[94]

The editorial concluded that, "In due time, in this most unequal contest the odds will be casted [sic] on the proper side," a half-hearted claim that is wholly inconsistent with the rest of the editorial. No other comment on the *Plessy* ruling was found in the *Freeman* issues examined.

The *Planet* and *Bee*, edited by John Mitchell, Jr., and W. Calvin Chase, respectively, were as militant as any black newspapers in this era,[95] so it is not surprising that both castigated the Court for its ruling. While optimism accompanied outrage in 1883, however, threats of violence did so in 1896. The *Planet*'s only editorial on the case said:

> We can be discriminated against, we can be robbed of our political rights, we can be persecuted and murdered and yet we cannot secure a legal redress in the courts of the United States. Truly has evil days come upon us. But a reckoning day will come and all classes of citizens, sooner or later realize that a government which will not protect cannot demand for itself protection.[96]

The *Bee* editor was less subtle in referring to an approaching "reckoning day." A *Bee* editorial warned:

> We must either insist upon the adoption of some constitutional amendment, that will stand the test of the United States Supreme Court, or let the white man suffer the consequences and the dangers that confront and threaten this Nation. We shall no longer play fool nor shall any more shackles bind the limbs of the once oppressed.[97]

The Baltimore *Afro-American*, published like the *Planet* in a Southern city, did not directly respond to the Court's decision in the editions examined, but a front-page article titled, "Negrophobia," made clear its stance on race relations. The article's opening sentences read, "History seems to teach that no people ever yet secured a recognition of their rights in their fullness and entirety who were not willing, if need be to fight for them. Justice sometimes waits on slaughter, and liberty on victory." The article continued that it would be "inexpressibly sad" if "the Negro would be compelled to achieve his complete emancipation by force," but that the reality might be such that "unless he manifests a willingness to fight, he never can become free."[98]

Neither of the other two newspapers examined in 1896, the Savannah (Ga.) *Tribune* and the Kansas City *American Citizen,* commented on the Court's ruling, but both reflected Booker T. Washington's influence on the black press. An editorial in the *Tribune,* published in a state adjacent to Alabama, home to Washington's Tuskegee Institute, said:

> Booker T. Washington is earning fame for his race, and making [Tuskegee] one of the most famous [educational institutions] in the country. Prof. Washington does not attempt to boss the politics of his state and consequently he receives the support and applause of all classes of people.[99]

A week later, a *Tribune* editorial said "Georgia needs a Booker T. Washington to look after the Negro educational work."[100]

The Kansas City *American Citizen,* while not directly referring to either the *Plessy* decision or to Washington, ran one article for two weeks following the ruling that seems to show the influence of Washington:

> Although the advancement of the Negro race is wonderful, yet we can accomplish much by exercising priveleges [sic] which present themselves. We are fond of idleness, we will dance, have socials [sic] excursions and various other enjoyments and where one is born we have no means to supply them properly, and when one is out raged [sic] we haven't the means or the qualifications to see that justice is carried into effect. This is because many of our race [are] as so many giddy children rather like some thing that they do not under sdand [sic].[101]

Only one year after he burst onto the national scene, then, Washington and his philosophy of economic advancement, self-help and industrial education appear to have already begun to influence other black Americans, including some associated with Southern newspapers. Notably, however, none of the Northern newspapers reflected an opinion regarding Washington's accommodationist views.

Conclusions and Discussion

This research examined response in twelve black newspapers to two Supreme Court decisions in the late 19th century, an era marked by legalized segregation and the philosophies of Social Darwinism and Booker T. Washington's accommodationism. In the *Civil Rights Cases* in 1883, the Court denied federal protection against private discrimination based on race, and in *Plessy v. Ferguson* in 1896, the Court ruled that segregation of blacks and whites was not unconstitutional.

In answer to the question of whether the newspapers reflected a shift from optimism to discouragement over race relations, it appears there was a shift from 1883 to 1896; but it also appears that this transformation occurred in a different manner than previously suggested. Historians have either noted or assumed that outrage among the black press over the *Civil Rights Cases* was matched by outrage over *Plessy v. Ferguson*: African-Americans had been wronged, and as opinion shapers and reflectors, newspapers strongly denounced the Supreme Court decisions. At a more influential level, however, the outlook in these newspapers concerning race relations changed from one of hope in 1883 to disillusionment in 1896.

In response to questions about how these newspapers counseled black readers and whether some were more accommodating than others in their views of segregation, it was found that by 1896, they reflected the view that patience was no longer a viable option; instead, threats of violence were common. The trend of social, political and legal relations, determined overwhelmingly by whites, had likely convinced many African-American leaders that racial justice would not result from inevitable acceptance by whites; rather, if racial justice was ever to come, it would result from collective action of blacks.

But divergence of views may have impeded that collective action. Ironically, while some blacks came to realize that new approaches were necessary to overcome the racial barriers being gradually institutionalized, the press's reaction in 1896 to *Plessy v. Ferguson* suggests that African-Americans could not agree on which route should be taken. By the turn of the century, Booker T. Washington's philosophy of accommodationism was popular among many black Americans, both Northern and Southern, and this influence was reflected in some of the newspapers. Such a passive approach, however, while acceptable in the short-term because of its avoidance of confrontation, was doomed because it demanded acquiescence to white Americans without offering a concrete means of effecting social change. While the militant, uncompromising approach in such newspapers as the New York *Globe* (later the *Age*), Washington *Bee*, Richmond *Planet*, and Baltimore *Afro-American* was short-sighted in considering violence as a method of changing society, it did engender pride and self-respect among African-Americans – important psychological characteristics not emphasized by Washington's approach.

Primarily because of this self-determining component, the militance advocated by such editors as T. Thomas Fortune, John Mitchell, Jr., and W. Calvin Chase, along with countless other black Americans, would eventually win over the accommodationists. At the same time, the disgust expressed in the black press about American institutions such as the Supreme Court reflected the decision by some black Americans to turn almost exclusively to members of their own race for social and cultural acceptance.

These findings suggest that the black press, as both molders and mirrors of black opinion, played a critical role in the construction of African-American attitudes toward race relations in the late 19th century. While court decisions, Social

Darwinism and views advocated by Washington combined to help white Americans believe themselves superior, racial antagonism every bit as real was being sown among blacks. Thus, the press was integral in both the construction and maintenance of African-American values and attitudes: on one hand, the press's increasing discouragement over race relations likely contributed to the views of blacks toward whites; on the other, the press's strong critique of American institutions likely reflected the decision by many blacks to turn (or return) to their communities for a shared culture. Such a view of the black press may assist in understanding its role in shaping and solidifying racial divisions in this era, racial divisions that, in large part, have remained for more than a century.

Notes

1. The author would like to thank University of Minnesota-Twin Cities professor Hazel Dicken-Garcia and visiting professor Joe Trotter for comments and suggestions on earlier drafts.

2. The terms African-Americans, black Americans and blacks are used interchangeably in this paper to refer to the same group of individuals.

3. Rayford Logan (1969, 4th ed.). The Betrayal of the Negro (Toronto: The Macmillan Company). Previously titled The Negro in American Life and Thought: The Nadir, 1877-1901.

4. For an excellent review of these amendments and acts, see Charles Fairman (1971). Reconstruction and Reunion, 1864-88: Part One (New York: Macmillan).

5. The phrase "institutionalization of racial inequality" refers to the process of implementation and maintenance of racial inequality in many important social, political, and cultural institutions. See, for example, Logan, The Betrayal of the Negro; William Gillette (1979). Retreat from Reconstruction, 1869-1879 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press); Joel Williamson (ed.) (1968). The Origins of Segregation (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company); Joel Williamson (1986). A Rage for Order: Black/White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation (New York: Oxford U. Press); Howard N. Rabinowitz (1976). "From Exclusion to Segregation: Southern Race Relations, 1865-1890, Journal of American History, 63:325-350; Thomas F. Gossett (1963). Race: The History of an Idea in America (Dallas: Southern Methodist University Press); C. Vann Woodward (1966). The Strange Career of Jim Crow (New York: Oxford University Press, 2d ed.); Richard Hofstadter (1957). Social Darwinism in American Thought, 1860-1915 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf).

6. James W. Carey (1988). Communication as Culture (Cambridge, MA: Unwin Hyman, Inc.), 18.

7. Carey, 43.

8. Raymond Williams (1968). Communications (London: Penguin Books), 18-19.

9. James Curran, Michael Gurevitch, and Janet Woollacott (1982), "The study of the media: theoretical approaches," in Gurevitch et al. (eds.), Culture, Society and the Media (London and New York: Methuen), 14.

10. Herbert Blumer (1958). "Race Prejudice as a Sense of Group Position," Pacific Sociological Review, 1:3-7.

11. Blumer, 3-4.

12. Blumer, 5.

13. bell hooks (1992). Black Looks: Race and Representation (Boston: South End Press), 1, 2.

14. hooks, 1.

15. Penelope L. Bullock (1981). The Afro-American Periodical Press 1838-1909 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press), 11.

16. See, for example, Emma L. Thornbrough (1966). "American Negro Newspapers, 1880-1914," Business History Review, 40:467-490; Irving Garland Penn (1891, 1969). The Afro-American Press and Its Editors (New York: Arno Press, Inc.); Summer E. Stevens and Owen V. Johnson (1990). "From Black Politics to

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Black Community: Harry C. Smith and the Cleveland *Gazette*," Journalism Quarterly, 67:1090-1102; Willard B. Gatewood (1972), "A Negro Editor in Imperialism: John Mitchell, 1898-1901," Journalism Quarterly, 49:31-42, 60.

17. 109 U.S. 3 (1883) and 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

18. This review of literature discusses research primarily focused on the black press. Although many historians, writing about various aspects of the social, political, economic or legal systems of this period, have incorporated press reactions into their works, the present research will not discuss such works, for at least one of these reasons: 1) Their primary focus was on the broader context of the period, not the press's reaction and scope of influence; 2) They usually have examined a variety of mainstream (i.e., white) newspapers but only one or two "key" black papers; 3) They usually have assumed without question that the press was a static measure of white and black opinion.

19. Journalism historian Hazel Dicken-Garcia, in a statement equally applicable to histories of both the white and black press, writes: "For generations a line of historical inquiry has answered the question of how change occurs with a theory that in large part makes change the result of individual action. Called the 'great person' theory, or 'rational actor' model, this view emphasizes individuals as primary agents of change, focusing on the genius of a few individuals in any given era as responsible for shaping history." Hazel Dicken-Garcia (1989). Journalistic Standards in Nineteenth-Century America (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press), 235.

20. The following publications are useful for different aspects of the black press but do not offer much insight for the present research. Penn, The Afro-American Press and Its Editors; Penn provides copious portraits of "great editors" and contributions from black spoksemen of the late 19th century but the work is purely descriptive. Frederick G. Detweiler (1922, 1968). The Negro Press in the United States (College Park, Md.: McGrath Publishing Co.); Detweiler focuses primarily on "great editors" and "great newspapers" from 1919 to 1922. Vishnu V. Oak (1948). The Negro Newspaper (Westport, Conn.: Negro Universities Press); Oak considers the content and function of the black press following World War II, shedding light on economic aspects. Bullock, The Afro-American Periodical Press 1838-1909; Bullock considers such influences as religion and education but is primarily concerned with cataloguing periodicals by publication dates. Roland E. Wolseley (1990, 2d ed.). The Black Press, U.S.A. (Ames: Iowa State University Press); Wolseley focuses primarily on the black press since World War II and the work is unmatched in the field for that era. Henry Lewis Suggs, ed. (1983). The Black Press in the South, 1865-1979 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press); the essays in this work primarily focus on the press in the 20th century since most Southern newspapers before 1900 folded after a short press run. As a result, there is little mention of the civil rights developments in the late 19th century.

21. Much of this recent work has been spurred by Gunnar Myrdal's 1944 seminal work, An American Dilemma (New York: Harper & Row), which includes a chapter titled "The Negro Press" examining black journalism in the 20th century and offering valuable insight into the role of the press among African-Americans. Myrdal's conclusion that "The press, more than any other institution, has created the Negro group as a social and psychological reality to the individual Negro" suggests the black press fulfills a unique function. Myrdal adds, "Together with the church and the school -- *and in the field of interracial and civic opinions, more than those two institutions* -- [the black press] determines the special direction of the process through which the Negroes are becoming acculturated" (emphasis added). The black press, Myrdal asserts, has been integral in creating and maintaining a shared African-American culture.

22. Armistead S. Pride (1950). "Negro Newspapers: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow," Journalism Quarterly, 28:179-188.

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23. Pride, 186.

24. August Meier (1953). "Booker T. Washington and the Negro Press," Journal of Negro History, 38:67-90.

25. Emma L. Thornbrough (1958). "More Light on Booker T. Washington and the New York *Age*," Journal of Negro History, 43:34-49.

26. Thornbrough, 36.

27. Thornbrough, "American Negro Newspapers, 1880-1914."

28. Thornbrough, "American Negro Newspapers, 1880-1914," 488.

29. Martin E. Dann (1971). The Black Press 1827-1890: The Quest for National Identity (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons).

30. Dann, 13, 293.

31. Teresa C. Klassen and Owen V. Johnson (1986). "Sharpening of the *Blade*: Black Consciousness in Kansas, 1892-97," Journalism Quarterly, 63:298-304.

32. Klassen and Johnson, 304.

33. Stevens and Johnson, "From Black Politics to Black Community: Harry C. Smith and the Cleveland *Gazette*."

34. Stevens and Johnson, 1101.

35. Stevens and Johnson, 1102.

36. Charles E. Wynes (1968). "Social Acceptance and Unacceptance," in Joel Williamson (ed.), The Origins of Segregation (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company), 22.

37. Logan, 45.

38. Leon F. Litwack (1961), North of Slavery: The Negro in the Free States, 1790-1860 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press); Leonard L. Richards (1970), Gentlemen of Property and Standing (New York: Oxford University Press).

39. Kermit L. Hall (1989). The Magic Mirror (New York: Oxford University Press), 145. See also William Gillette (1965), The Right to Vote: Politics and the Passage of the Fifteenth Amendment (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press); Alan P. Grimes (1978), Democracy and the Amendments to the Constitution (Lexington, Massachusetts: D.C. Heath and Company); C. Vann Woodward (1983), "*Strange Career* Critics: Long May They Persevere," Journal of American History, 75:857-868.

40. Harold U. Faulkner (1959). Politics, Reform and Expansion, 1890-1900 (New York: Harper & Row), 7.

41. Alan F. Westin (1957). "John Marshall Harlan and the Constitutional Rights of Negroes: The Transformation of a Southerner," Yale Law Journal, 66:637-710; see note on 661. For official language see

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Act of March 1, 1875, c. 714, 18 STAT. 335-37. An Act to protect all citizens in their civil and legal rights. 43d Congress, 2d session.

42. Wynes, 27.

43. Westin, 674. Two other similar cases were added before the Court issued its decision.

44. Alan F. Westin (1987). "The Case of the Prejudiced Doorkeeper," in John A. Garraty (ed.), Quarrels That Have Shaped the Nation (New York: Harper & Row), 148.

45. Westin, "John Marshall Harlan," 679; Logan, 116.

46. 109 U.S. 3 (1883).

47. Logan, 117.

48. Vernon L. Wharton (1968). "Jim Crow Laws and Miscegenation," in Joel Williamson (ed.), The Origins of Segregation (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath Company), 16.

49. C. Vann Woodward (1968). "The Strange Career of Jim Crow," in Joel Williamson (ed.), The Origins of Segregation (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath Company), 2.

50. C. Vann Woodward (1987). "The Case of the Louisiana Traveler," in John A. Garraty (ed.), Quarrels That Have Shaped the Nation (New York: Harper & Row), 159.

51. Charles Dudley Warner (1889). Studies in the South and West With Comments on Canada (New York: Harper & Brothers), 116-17.

52. Rabinowitz, 336.

53. Joel Williamson (1968). "The Separation of the Races," in Williamson (ed.), The Origins of Segregation (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath Company), 40; George B. Tindall (1968). "The Color Line," in Joel Williamson (ed.), The Origins of Segregation (Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath Company), 9.

54. Rabinowitz, 343.

55. Stephen B. Presser & Jamil S. Zainaldin (1989, 2d ed.). Law and Jurisprudence in American History, (St. Paul: West Publishing), 488.

56. Logan, 171.

57. Barton J. Bernstein (1963). "Plessy v. Ferguson: Conservative Sociological Jurisprudence," Journal of Negro History, 48:196-205.

58. Logan, 173.

59. See Hofstadter's Social Darwinism in American Thought, 1860-1915; Gossett, 145.

60. Logan, 173.

61. Bernstein, 201-03.

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62. Quoted in Logan, 173.

63. Williamson, A Rage for Order, 62; Logan, 279.

64. Logan, 183.

65. Thornbrough, "More Light on Booker T. Washington and the New York *Age*," 34.

66. W.E.B. DuBois (1903). The Souls of Black Folk (Chicago: A.C. McClurg & Co.), 42.

67. Louis R. Harlan (1983). Booker T. Washington : The Wizard of Tuskegee (New York: Oxford University Press).

68. Logan, 312.

69. 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

70. Woodward, "The Case of the Louisiana Traveler," 173.

71. The sample is admittedly imperfect. The Age, particularly, is an important paper that needs to be examined for its reaction to *Plessy v. Ferguson*, though the literature review suggests the Age likely responded in a manner similar to the Cleveland Gazette and Washington Bee. Unfortunately, the microfilm of the Age produced by the Library of Congress, which is the source for virtually all university collections, is incomplete and missing the relevant dates. Howard University has a complete copy of the Age but the relevant rolls of film have been missing for at least six months.

72. For example, in "American Negro Newspapers, 1880-1914," Thornbrough said, "The more prestigious [Northern] papers circulated in the South and were read by southern Negroes in preference to local papers" (472).

73. Department of the Interior, Census Office (1883). Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census 1880 (Washington: Government Printing Office), 416-425; United States Census Office (1902). Abstract of the Twelfth Census of the United States 1900 (Washington: Government Printing Office), 103-105.

74. Pride, "Negro Newspapers: Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow," 182.

75. Thornbrough, "American Negro Newspapers, 1880-1914," 470.

76. See, for example, Myrdal, An American Dilemma; Stevens and Johnson, "From Black Politics to Black Community: Harry C. Smith and the Cleveland Gazette"; Wolseley, The Black Press U.S.A.; G. James Fleming (1938), "Emancipation and the Negro Press," The Crisis, 45:213-214; Logan, The Betrayal of the Negro; Clay Perry (1977-78), "John Mitchell, Virginia's Journalist of Reform," Journalism History, 4:142-147; Gatewood, "A Negro Editor in Imperialism: John Mitchell, 1898-1901."

77. Stevens and Johnson, 1091. Regarding the Court decisions, there was only one Democrat, Stephen J. Field of California, on the Court when it handed down the *Civil Rights Cases* decision in 1883, and Field had been appointed by Republican president Abraham Lincoln. By 1896 for *Plessy v. Ferguson*, Field had been joined by a second Democrat, Edward Douglass White of Louisiana. Thus, the Court, ironically, was Republican-dominated.

78. See, for example, Penn, and Thornbrough, "American Negro Newspapers, 1880-1914."

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79. Alton Hornsby, essay on the black press in Georgia, in Henry Lewis Suggs, ed. (1983). The Black Press in the South, 1865-1979 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press), 119-149. The Tribune was not examined in 1883 because it had been temporarily suspended.

80. Initially, the research design called for a distinction to be made between articles and editorials, since the two usually are written with different purposes. Early in the analysis, however, it became clear that many stories on page 2 -- the traditional editorial page of most black newspapers in this period -- did not differ much in tone or opinion from stories on other pages. While the "editorials" tended to be more explicit in their advice to readers, the "articles" usually were written to emphasize, often overtly, a particular opinion or position. It seems likely that the importance of these court decisions to African-Americans helped to blur in the black press the expected separation between articles and editorials. Therefore, in the analysis, opinions reflected in both articles and editorials were considered as valid indicators of the papers' positions; in rare instances when opinions reflected in articles and editorials were not in agreement, editorials were considered to reflect the "official" position of papers.

81. New York Globe, Oct. 20, 1883, p. 2.

82. New York Globe, Oct. 27, 1883, p. 2.

83. Cleveland Gazette, Oct. 20, 1883, p. 2.

84. Cleveland Gazette, Oct. 27, 1883, p. 2. Emphasis is in original.

85. Washington, D.C. People's Advocate, Oct. 20, 1883, p. 2.

86. Washington, D.C. People's Advocate, Oct. 27, 1883, p. 2.

87. The Bee was suspended from Sept. 8, 1883, to Nov. 10, 1883. In its first edition afterward, an editorial, presumably written by W. Calvin Chase, said, "The Bee was suspended because we desired to do away with things and measures which we knew would tend to our destruction. We have now our own outfit which will enable us to do our work and issue regularly from our own office." Nov. 10, 1883, p. 2.

88. Washington D.C. Bee, Nov. 10, 1883, p. 2.

89. Mobile Gazette, Oct. 20, 1883, p. 2.

90. Charleston New Era, Oct. 20, 1883, p. 2.

91. Charleston New Era, Nov. 3, 1883, p. 1.

92. Huntsville (Ala.) Gazette, Nov. 3, 1883, p. 2.

93. Cleveland Gazette, May 30, 1896, p. 2.

94. Indianapolis Freeman, May 23, 1896, p. 4.

95. See, for example, Fleming, "Emancipation and the Negro Press"; Logan, The Betrayal of the Negro; Perry, "John Mitchell, Virginia's Journalist of Reform."

96. Richmond Planet, May 23, 1896, p. 2.

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97. Washington D.C. Bee, May 23, 1896, p. 4.

98. Baltimore Afro-American, June 27, 1896, p. 1.

99. Savannah Tribune, May 9, 1896, p. 2. This publication actually precedes the *Plessy* decision by nine days but it was thought that the text provided insight into a possible reason as to why the Tribune did not publish any comment at all on the Court's ruling.

100. Savannah Tribune, May 16, 1896, p. 2. See previous note regarding publication date.

101. Kansas City American Citizen, June 5, 1896, p. 1.

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The Politics of Journalistic Independence: Detroit Journalism in the Progressive Era

(Paper presented to the AEJMC Annual Convention, August 1994, Atlanta, GA)

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Between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the American press fundamentally changed how it reported the everyday occurrences, rituals and dramas of American life. Newspapers dispensed with the celebratory political partisanship typical of the Gilded Age and adopted a more sober style of impartial, expert reporting.[1] The press denounced its former political advocacy on behalf of the Republicans or Democrats and declared that henceforth it would provide an authoritative, factual account of the day's most important events.

In accounting for these journalistic transformations, an analysis of politics and the "public sphere" is essential. Politics cannot be considered as just one more variable to be factored in after examining journalism's occupational ideals, its corporate organizational structure, or the shape of the urban newspaper market. Instead, the politics of the press affects the functioning of all these other aspects of the modern journalistic enterprise. That this political dimension is greatly neglected by sociologists attests to the prevasiveness of journalism's modern occupational ideal. As this essay points out, this professional ethic developed in the early twentieth century when newspapers broke with their past advocacy for the major political parties. Publishers declared their papers independent of all on-going political ties and interests. From then on they would report the news in a impartial and objective manner. The press' sole source of sustenance would be the sale of news to private individuals in the market place. Early twentieth century journalism denied that any political considerations influenced its news reports.

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[1] Discussion of the standard practices of nineteenth century partisan journalism can be found in Baldasty, 1992: ch. 1; Jensen, 1971; McGerr, 1986.

However, an explanation of news selections and reporting practices depends upon a recognition of journalism's political role within the "public sphere."[2] The press is involved in the conflictual field of public-political debate with all its disagreements over what is and what should be the proper ordering of American society. There is no safe ground from which the press can survey the whole of the social battlefield without its observations and interpretations being also dragged into the fray. In going about its daily business, rushing to get this scoop, hurrying to meet that deadline, the media often comes under the critical scrutiny of contending political actors. These political groups may differ with the press over the accuracy of the news. They may deny the validity of the media's descriptions, denounce their analyses and impugn their motives. Or, at least, the politician, the pubic relations agent, or the citizens' advocate may realize that other news reports with other spins would serve their purposes better. They know that more favorable press coverage can be obtained by assertions of injury and unfairness, in sum, by heaving a few criticisms in the direction of the press. Consequently, the interpretations of journalists necessarily come into conflict with other public-political organizations. These other organizations possess varying resources and legitimacy to present to the citizenry their own interpretations of American life as authoritative. Depending upon this distribution of power and the available cultural rationales, the press possesses greater or lesser autonomy to determine which events and perspectives qualify as the news.

Thus, this essay contends that politics determines the news. Changes in the institutional organization of the political-public sphere result in a transformation in journalism's ideals and reporting practices.[3] More specifically, this essay uses the case of Detroit journalism and Michigan politics in 1896-1910 to examine how alterations in the American political system shifted the typical politics of the press. In essence, this paper argues that in the early twentieth century the power of political parties in the American public sphere was seriously weakened. In response to this decline in legitimacy and power of the Democrats and Republicans, daily newspapers broke free from the confines of their roles as partisan advocates and reconstructed their role in public-political debate.

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[2] The classic discussion of the "public sphere" and its normative role in modern mass democracies is Habermas, 1989. For a discussion of the relevance of the public sphere for media studies see Hallin, 1985.

Throughout most of the nineteenth century political parties had dominated American public political life. Several resources enhanced the power of parties to dictate the terms of public debate. In addition to controlling the spoils of governmental patronage, and the power of nomination to elected office, parties commanded the overwhelming loyalty of the voting population. In this context, newspapers publicly pledged their allegiance to either the Democrats or the Republicans. Under the protecting legitimacy of the two parties, the press was permitted to engage in open political advocacy. In addition to the partisan opinions of the editorial page, the news too followed an agenda determined by party interests. Journals selected for reporting events and social conditions that supported the policy contentions of one party against the other.

The "critical elections" of 1894-1896 initiated a realignment in the relative electoral strength of the two parties. After these realigning elections, the power of the two parties was significantly undermined by three events. First, as is typical to such realigning elections, the electoral coalitions underlying the two parties were reshuffled. The upheaval of the 1896 presidential election campaign overturned the stead-fast party loyalties of millions of Americans. Voters' traditional ties of allegiance to parties were shaken. Second, the ensuing electoral predominance of the Republicans in the North and West changed the rules of electoral competition. This new political-strategic environment placed less of a premium on rallying party members to the polls and on the newspapers' displays of party loyalty. Lastly, the Progressive movement flourished in this new political environment. Progressives in Michigan, as in the rest of the country, challenged the old mechanics of party politics in the name of a new, purified democracy.

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[3] A portrait of two contemporary organizations of the political public sphere and the differing political stances of the press is presented in Hallin and Mancini, 1984.

These cumulative developments weakened Michigan's political parties and freed the press from some of the past strictures and constraints of formal partisanship. However, they did not dictate the future political role of the press. By looking at the writings and pronouncements of Detroit publishers, this essay shows how the daily journals joined in this Progressive campaign of reform and at the same time reconstructed their own political role. Detroit's newspapers created a new journalistic ethic of impartiality as they disavowed their past partisanship. The resulting occupational ideal of fairness and independence implied that the press would select for news coverage only the most important social events without any deference to corporate or governmental powers. In practice, however, the press as objective and independent possessed only weak legitimacy to pursue any news or perspectives that could be considered controversial. No longer aligned with a political party the news media had limited resources to pursue an independent perspective in reporting the news. Instead, the news typically conformed to the interpretations and interests of the formal, legitimated political authorities.

Theories of the Ending of Press Partisanship

Historians have put forth a multitude of theories to explain the passing away of America's partisan press and a plethora of dates as to when it occurred. These writers have proposed economic, cultural and professional explanations and have suggested timings as diverse as the early 1830s, 1870-1890s, 1880-1890s or the 1920s. If we adopt Paul Hirsch's model of the interaction among organization, environment and roles in culture-producing organizations (1977), we can see that the various dates and theories account for changes by focusing on different levels of the newspaper organization and its environment.

Level of Analysis[4]	Case Considered
Environment	
External exchanges with the newspaper's political and economic environment	Party System Change, 1896-1910 Market Revolution of 1830 Commercial-Advertising Revolution, 1890s
Organization	
Role relations Role Specialization	Rise of the Reporter, 1880-1890s
Role	
Career trajectory	Professional ethic of objectivity, 1920
Professional ideals	Political-cultural movement of Liberal Republicans, 1872

The standard explanation for shifts in the political posture of journalism is economic. An expansion of economic resources available to the newspaper allows the journal to achieve independence from the party and the party's demands for politically biased reporting. Such a transformation in the economic environment for the press is said to have occurred either in the Jacksonian era with its market revolution or in the retail-advertising revolution of the 1880-1890s.[5] Yet, the decline in newspaper partisanship with its ritual declarations of loyalty to the one true party took place many years after the 1830s or even the 1880-90s. In addition, the interests of publishers in power and in pursuing profits are not necessarily contradictory. In fact, faced with a competitive newspaper market, nineteenth century publishers marketed their papers by appealing to the partisan sympathies of their audience. Publishers captured a select share of readers through political advocacy. They pursued an economic strategy of market segmentation.[6]

Michael McGerr (1986), too, has criticized such purely economic explanations for the ending of press partisanship and has instead elaborated a political-cultural interpretation. Even if new opportunities for enhanced profits exist, editor-publishers will not necessarily decamp from the party ranks. As the market changes, editors do not just passively adapt to a new set of external-environmental incentives. They will not automatically choose increased income over past party ties or political power, especially in a strongly partisan culture. For such a change to take place, says McGerr, the meaning orientation of editors too needs to be reconstructed. He located this political-cultural reconstruction of journalistic ideals in the elite social movement of the Liberal Republicans and later the Mugwumps, roughly 1870-90. Nonetheless the timing of the dramatic decline of partisanship among Detroit dailies also does not correspond to the Liberal Republican bolt in 1872 nor to the later party-switching of Mugwumps in 1884 and 1888.[7] Such independent reformers were as ineffectual in changing journalism as they were in reforming governmental administration. An elite social movement, without any mass appeal, could not change the organizational and cultural supports for America's pervasive partisanship.

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[4] The chart also highlights the potential carrier of journalistic changes. Publishers and editors are most in control of the newspapers exchanges with its economic and political environments, most concerned when the newspapers profits takes a nose-dive, when the newspaper restructures its audience or market, or when the paper is targeted for political protest.

[5] On the Jacksonian market revolution and the rise of the independent, penny press see Schudson, 1978: ch. 1; Nerone, 1987; Saxton, 1990: ch. 4.

[6] I discuss the economics of partisan newspapers in Author, 1993.

A third theory focuses on the alteration of occupational roles and the relative power of editors, publishers and reporters in the journalistic division of labor. Reporters are often said to be the bearers of the professional values of journalism, while publishers might be willing to prostitute the profession for political or economic gains. Journalists would have opportunities for power in the organizational hierarchy and prestige, if reporting depended on a special expertise or ethic. Michael Schudson (1978), for example, sees the emergence of reporting as a self-conscious, autonomous occupation as a necessary condition for the formation of the professional ethic of objectivity. Schudson's "age of the reporter" occurred in the 1880s and 1890s, while he describes "objectivity" as developing in the 1920s. Neither corresponds to the change in newspaper partisanship, and, as this essay argues, the carrier of newspaper independence is the editor-publisher, not the reporter. Reporters did not have the power to restrict the political prerogatives of owners.[8]

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[7] McGerr bases his correlation, first, on an examination of newspapers in New York which is an unrepresentative case. (Cf. Nerone, 1987) For a more generalized measurement of changes across the country he relies on description of newspaper political orientation derived from N.W. Ayer annual guide to newspapers for advertisers. The Ayer guide prints what the newspaper publisher his/herself has reported regarding the political orientation of the paper. This measure is probably systematically biased towards under counting partisan papers in the latter part of the century. In any case, McGerr notes a change from 1850 with 5% neutral to 1890 when 25% of the weeklies and 24% of the dailies are neutral. Thus, there was a massive rise of independent papers roughly corresponding to the movements of Liberal Republicans and Mugwumps (1986: 14, 120). However, in 1868, according to Peter Knight's use of the same data, newspapers were already 21% "neutral" (Knight, 1968). So there was no significant change from 1868 to 1890 according to this measure. Instead of relying on self-reports by the newspaper of its political orientation, I measure the actual partisan bias manifest in the news columns.

Rather, in the analysis presented here, the ending of political advocacy by the press is rooted in changes in the news media's political environment--in the public-political sphere. In this fourth theory, newspapers broke with parties in response to transformations in the American party system and a general decline of popular political participation following the election of 1896. After the critical realigning elections of 1894-1896, the social integrative capacity of parties--their ability to define the political identities and loyalties of the populace--declined. The incentives and sanctions inducing newspaper partisanship declined sharply as the power of parties in the public sphere faltered.[9] The party realignment and the Progressive reform created the conditions under which Detroit journals could break from parties and find new justifications for marketing to the general populace a seemingly apolitical news. The reconstruction of journalism's ideals and practices depended upon the reconstruction of American politics.

A Measure of Newspaper Partisanship

The partisanship of the America press declined radically after the year 1896. The following chart presents a measure of this changing partisanship over the period 1867-1920. It gauges two different aspects of "political bias" or journalistic political preference in news and editorials. These two dimensions of partisanship can be called "manifest" and "latent" partisanship, or "overt" and "covert." The manifest aspects of partisanship refer to statements of evaluation and preference by a writer-narrator.[10] However, even when a reporter makes no evident political evaluation, a story can support the interests and policies of a party. This second type of partisan support would be the latent bias of a newspaper. In the late 1800s, the most evident form of this latent preference was the grossly unequal amounts of news space that the partisan paper gave to the words and deeds of one party over the other. More subtle forms of covert preference were shown in the reporting of news events that supported the policy positions of one party at the expense of its foe. Adequate coding of these stories depends upon historical background knowledge of the articulated policy divisions between the two parties.[11]

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[8] The relative weakness of reporters compared to the management is also reflected in their poor wages. Cf. Leab, 1970: ch. 1; Smythe, 1980.

[9] For a discussion of the resources that parties used to induce party loyalty in newspapers see Smith, 1977.

[10] These categories can be defined more precisely through the literary theory of "enunciation." Enunciation designates all those grammatical features of the written text that refer back to the author by

The content analysis coded all the articles of all the daily newspapers of Detroit published on the sampled day.[12] In 1867, at the start of this study, Detroit possessed four daily papers. At various times the total increased to five papers but diminished to three in 1919.[13] Days for coding were selected on the basis of a stratified sample. American political life displays a cyclical nature following the periodic schedule of elections. Consequently, political news coverage displays strong differences between election season and non-election times. To avoid any confusion this cycle

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drawing attention to the organizing, judging or analyzing of the author. In manifest bias, the text displays its political evaluations as the work of the author. In covert bias, evaluations come from a quoted speaker, or else the evaluation is left to the reader to draw out from the facts reported. On enunciation see Todorov, 1979.

The specific coding criteria was to count as overtly biased any article with three or more statements of partisan evaluation by the reporter. If the article was under three inches long then it was overtly biased with two or more statements of preference. In any case, articles tended to cluster around one end of the coding spectrum or the other--either explicitly evaluative or totally non-evaluative.

[11] In the technical language of content analysis this is the "context unit." See Krippendorff, 1980: 59-60. Fortunately for the researcher, the policy cleavages of the two parties are repeatedly elaborated on the editorial page of the partisan paper.

[12] And measured in terms of space. News on market transactions and sports were not coded.

[13] The newspapers were: 1) the *Detroit Free Press*, 1835-present; 2) the *Detroit Advertiser and Tribune*, 1836-1915; 3) the *Post*, 1866-1877; 4) the *Daily Union*, 1865-1874; 5) the *Detroit News*, 1873-present; 6) the *Detroit Journal*, 1888-1919; 7) the *Detroit Times*, 1901-1960.

The Detroit case has the merit of political representativeness, demonstrating the "main dynamics" of American politics in the late nineteenth and early twentieth-centuries. While party organization was stronger in the northeast and weaker in the newer, western states, the main national trend throughout the late nineteenth century was strong party organizations in significant competition. Detroit's Democrats and Republicans maintained strong party organizations in close electoral competition throughout the nineteenth century. In the twentieth century, with the party transformations that followed the critical elections of 1894-1896, Detroit again conformed to the majority pattern. The Republicans became entrenched in the state as the dominant party. Then, in the early 1900s, Detroit and Michigan suffered the political turmoil and reform typical to the Progressive era. In addition, Detroit was a large enough city to have a press that displayed the full range of partisan and factional divisions typical to the nineteenth century city.

might introduce to the search for long-term changes, the sample was organized to include a newspaper edition from the presidential election campaign and an edition from non-election season.[14]

Turning to the actual numbers, the nineteenth century displayed a fairly constant amount of partisan journalism, but after 1900 there was a sharp decreased in this partisanship. Editorials are the genre in which newspapers most directly express their views. During the election seasons of the late nineteenth century, the majority of the sampled editorials were explicitly partisan. In 1900 and thereafter, opinion pieces that explicitly evaluated the parties or their policies became a declining share of the editorial page. In non-election periods, the fall in partisan editorials between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was even more dramatic. From the Gilded Age's erratic eighteen to fifty-four percent, partisan editorials became a minuscule one to five percent. Turning to the news, the Detroit press typically filled about one-fourth of their news space with partisan articles during the presidential election campaigns of the late 1800s. In our century this explicit evaluative or bias selections of the news greatly decreased to five or seven percent. News in non-election seasons saw a precipitous decline to only trace elements in the early 1900s.

Editorials in Presidential Election Seasons

	1868	1876	1884	1892	1900	1908	1916
Partisanship as a Percentage of Editorials[15]	81%	78%	62%	52%	29%	28%	17%

Non-Election Seasons

	1867	1875	1883	1891	1899	1907	1915
Partisanship	54%	40%	18%	34%	5%	1%	3%

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[14] A copy of the October 15th issue of all journals was analyzed for all presidential election years, 1868-1920, and an issue of all dailies was analyzed in the electoral off-season 1867-1919. (February 15th of the year preceding the presidential election year.)

[15] In the sampled issues all editorials were coded for their political bias and their length was measured. The percentage is a percentage of the paper's space devoted to editorials.

	News in Presidential Election Years							
	1868	1876	1884	1892	1896	1900	1908	1916
Reporter's Partisan Evaluations as a Percentage of the News Space	9%	12%	17%	9%	30%	12%	7%	0%
Total Partisan News[16]	15%	21%	39%	16%	40%	14%	7%	5%

	News in Non Election Years							
	1867	1871	1879	1887	1895	1903	1911	1915
Reporter's Partisan Evaluations	2%	0%	2%	1%	8%	0%	0%	1%
Total Partisan News	18%	4%	4%	3%	9%	3%	0%	3%

To summarize, in the early twentieth century overt, explicit partisanship in the news all but disappeared. Partisanship in editorials decreased to a small but still present percentage. This limited editorial partiality however was confined to the election season. The newspaper no longer engaged in a prolonged, year-round effort of proselytizing the voters or a continual display of its formal allegiance to the party. Overt partisanship had disappeared. Covert bias had massively declined. The shifts in journalistic politics suggested by my general, quantitative measure of partisanship can be traced out in more detail by looking at the practices and rhetoric of Detroit newspapers in the early twentieth century.

1896

Both 1895 and 1896 in my sampled newspaper editions were vastly partisan. Rebounding from the years of 1891 and 1892, this greater press fervor reflected the entrance of new economic issues into the political realm. *Detroit News* publisher, James Scripps, noted in his diary the passions involved in the 1896 battle of standards, and he remarked on the consequences for all those, such as Scripps himself, who were pledged to William Jennings Bryan and silver. His entry for December 31, 1896 summarized the events of the year: "The campaign was conducted with a bitterness never before known and silver advocates are ostracized."[17]

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[16] "Total partisan news" includes both the previous overt bias of "reporter's partisan evaluations" and the newspapers' covert bias. An example f this latter covert bias would be a report of a speech made by an official of the favored party without a matching story from the opposed party.

The electoral campaign of '96 has been repeatedly analyzed. The long-standing grievances of farmers, who were oppressed by inequitable railroad rates, declining prices for agricultural goods, deflationary currency that increased their long-term debts and inaccessible credit burst into the major party system (Goodwyn, 1978; Schmitz, 1989). The economic, class, and sectional issues were contained within the policy cleavage between the two parties, but only at the cost of a reshuffling of the two parties' bases of popular support. Furthermore, the specific protest issues involved were quickly overtaken by a widespread hysteria. As the *Nation* declared, "Probably no man in civil life has succeeded in inspiring so much terror without taking life as [Presidential nominee] Bryan" (Baehr, 1972, 255; Wiebe, 1967, ch. 7)." The Democratic candidate was repeatedly denounced from the platform as well as the pulpit as a dishonest, dangerous demagogue, who would bring "repudiation, national dishonor and anarchy."[18]

The newly charged party divisions of 1896 reshuffled the parties' electoral coalitions and necessarily affected the parties' affiliated newspapers. The career of William Quinby, long time proprietor of the state's major Democratic organ, the *Detroit Free Press*, illustrates these shifts in Detroit journalism. Quinby was in close association with the party establishment of Michigan (and friend of Don Dickinson, head of the Michigan Democratic Central Committee, the Post Master General of the United States, and counselor to President Cleveland.) In 1892, as reward for Quinby's long years of partisan service, President Cleveland nominated Quinby to the post of Ambassador to the Netherlands.

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[17] James E. Scripps, Diary, Dec. 31, 1896. (Wilkerson negatives, Cranbrook Archives.)

[18] Bryan notes the various bitter attacks in his speeches and in his campaign retrospective. Bryan, 1896: 467, 471, 474-5, 493, 603. And see Baehr, 1972: 254-55.

Quinby's political partisanship did not stop him from maintaining close ties to Detroit's elite no matter what their political persuasion. In fact, Quinby was a conservative, gold Democrat, and when upper-class, good government reformers campaigned against Democratic corruption in municipal government, the *Free Press* joined the reformers. Similarly in 1895 when virtually the entire press and upper class mobilized against the provocative reforms of Mayor Pingree, Quinby's paper was denouncing the liberal mayor as ardently as the other journals. Thus it came as no surprise that Quinby broke with his party when the Democratic national convention unseated Michigan's gold Democrat delegation (led by Dickinson) and nominated Bryan to represent the Democratic-Populist fusion. The typical integration of newspaper owners with party leadership and economic elites, described by Richard Slotkin, meant that papers were unlikely to follow the party into its reform alignment (Slotkin, 1985, 332-69). Publisher Quinby issued a "Declaration of Independence" renouncing all partisanship.[19] *Free Press* city editor and erstwhile upper-class Republican, John Lodge, read Quinby's editorial declaration "with a great deal of pleasure."

> In fact, I had anticipated something of the sort for Mr. Quinby had always been a Gold Democrat...When I had read it Mr. Quinby said: John, does that satisfy you?" I said, "Of course it does...But do you remember what you told me not to inject my Black Republicanism into the paper? Does this mean the fetters are off so far as this campaign is concerned?" He smiled and said, "Maybe before long I'll be as black a Republican as you are" (Lodge, 1949: 60).

This departure of classic Democratic newspapers from the ranks of the party was typical for most daily Democratic papers nationwide (Jensen, 1971: 272-5; Sarasohn, 1989: 10-11; Baehr, 1972: 254-5; VanderMeer, 1989). Even liberal Democratic journals with a putative working-class audience such as Pulitzer's *New York World* or Edward Scripps' *Cincinnati Post*, not to mention conservative elite Democratic papers like the *New York Times*, fled the party in a mass exodus. At the close of the campaign Bryan remarked on this journalistic inequality between the two parties:

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[19] See the *Free Press'* "Declaration of Independence," July 12, 1896, p.12. The *New York Times* also issued such a declaration.

"With all the newspapers of the country against us, our 6,500,000 votes is a vindicated of which we have a right to be proud (Livingstone, 1904: 501)." Earlier on the campaign trail he declared:

> We do not have all the newspapers with us in this fight, but an editor only votes once and I have known some editors who have had so little influence that they could not even control the one vote which the law gives them. We would be glad to have the newspapers with us, but...we would rather have the people with us at the polls (Bryan, 1896: 447).

The disparity nationwide between journals loyal to the Democrats as compared to the Republicans decisively affected the two presidential candidates' campaign tactics.[20] During the election season, McKinley never ventured far from his home in Canton, Ohio. However, he was able to match Bryan in the number of reported speeches. Everyday McKinley addressed from his front porch a specially gathered crowd of well-wishers. His words were dutifully reported by the allied press. Bryan, on the other hand, could not count on reaching a broad public through the traditional means of party affiliated papers working as propaganda pieces for the party. The man famed for his oratorical eloquence was forced to take to the stumps, with a whistle stop tour of most of the country. About his Michigan tour, Bryan wrote:

> Friday was one of those long days. In order that the reader may know how much work can be crowded into one campaign day, I will mention the places at which speeches were made between breakfast and bedtime: Muskegeon, Holland, Fennville, Bangor, Hartford, Watervliet, Benton Harbor, Niles, Dowgaic, Decatur, Lawrence, Kalamazoo...[etc.]; total for the day, 25 (Bryan, 1896: 561).

In Detroit and Michigan, Bryan at least gained the support of the Scripps' *News* and *Tribune*. But he was still lacking in means of communication as the partisan coverage adopted the typical tactics of grossly unequal coverage of the two sides campaigns. As the *News* declared in one editorial:

> The *News* and the *Tribune* are the only papers in Detroit which are printing speeches delivered by Mr. Bryan in various cities in which he is visiting on his way to Lincoln. Why the other two dailies of Detroit should suppress these speeches is a mystery. Even the Eastern papers which are most vindictive in their

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[20] On the differing campaigns see Josephson, 1953; Croly, 1953. On Bryan's eloquence see John Lodge's account of Bryan's famous Cross of Gold speech (Lodge, 1949: 59-60).

> opposition to the Democratic candidate, publish his speeches in full and allow their readers an opportunity to compare the arguments of Mr. Bryan with the editorial comments of the papers...(Player, nd: 307)

Similarly, if less often, press loyalty to party was disrupted in the Republican ranks. As already has been noted, James E. Scripps took the *Tribune*, the official state Republican paper, out of the ranks of party faithful to the vociferous protests of leading Republican officials. Scripps had long been preoccupied with the issues of currency reform, monopoly and free trade. Thus in 1876, his paper endorsed the Greenback candidate for president, while the 1880s brought the *News* into close alignment with the Democrats because of their shared political-economic positions. In 1896, in the words of a biographer,

> James saw the silver issue as vital. It would not mean anything to him if he lost money through sticking to his principles, for in spite of his thriftiness no man had less hunger for money...When Detroit realized that Scripps through the columns of his papers was supporting Bryan and "Free Silver" the bank called his loan, advertisers dropped out and circulation of the *Tribune* dropped (Player, nd: 35).

Despite the newspapers' break from formal allegiance, the 1896 campaign reporting fell into the typical forms of partisan news. Indeed, the new class content of the election infused established partisan forms with more than usual energy. Reporters and papers elevated the two parties into the potential savior and destroyer of the American nation. The range of issues were seen as adequately contained in the positions and policies dividing the two parties. And the reporting fell into traditional forms of journalistic partisanship, both in the selection of words and in the genres. These included standard morale-boosting articles focusing on the activities of the two parties and reports of news events that supposedly revealed the deleterious consequences of the other party's policies. In this case, factory owner after factory owner stated that his business orders were contingent upon the election of McKinley. In addition, the newspaper published quips, editorials and cartoons that aligned the newspaper explicitly with party in an active, evaluative if juvenile voice.

Electoral Politics after 1896

In 1904, Michigan party politics were in upheaval. Already weakened bonds of party loyalty, and the traditional mechanisms of party organizational power, were under attack by a coalition stretching from the Michigan Democratic party through independent reformers to insurgents within the Republican party. Detroit's Democratic papers took up the crusade of anti-party reform. While the crusade was initially adopted for purposes of Democratic party propaganda and journalistic publicity, the crusade disseminated and legitimated anti-partisan sentiments. This movement for reform, continuous with Progressive era movements, found both true believers, such as George Booth, the publisher of the *Detroit News*, and opportunists in the ranks of the press. The anti-partisan campaign in the name of the public good exploited the growing weakness of parties and allowed newspapers to break decisively from the old party rituals.

To understand this rebellion against the bonds of party servitude, one must look at the fall-out from the realigning elections of 1894-1896. In Michigan, as in the nation, the elections precipitated a massive decline in voter participation. The "battle of standards" of the 1896 presidential election generated remarkable passions and interest, and, in turn, a turnout of 95.3 percent of the electorate in Michigan, higher than the state's nineteenth century average in presidential contests. But after the battle of gold and silver, Michigan's turn-out immediately declined, reaching 78.9 percent in 1904 and its nadir for presidential elections, 53.7 percent in 1924. Only the New Deal realignment of 1932 initiated a temporary recovery of electoral participation (Burnham, 1970: 114).

The fall in voter participation is variously explained by the disruption in the traditional role of political parties. First, parties as object of popular identification and parties as organizers of meaningful policy choices were overturned in the aftermath of 1896. The *Detroit Free Press* and the *Detroit Tribune*, as official party organs for over thirty years, mirrored on a larger scale a multitude of individual decisions to break with one's party. Perhaps, John Vallee Moran is typical of these partisans. His son writes that this patriarch of a wealthy and prominent Detroit family never gossiped nor made derogatory remarks about anyone, except during presidential election campaigns.

> [But every four years]...father expressed his opinions freely, frequently, and pungently. A Democrat by heritage and early conviction, he remained one until 1896. After that and until his death he was a staunch Republican. He couldn't accept William Jennings Bryan and the "Free Silver --16 to 1--Platform" (Moran, 1949: 65).

Furthermore, as Paul Kleppner tells us, parties after 1896 were less tied to particular ethno-religious communities (1980: 93-105; 1987: 220-5, 170-1). Nineteenth century parties were able to cultivate popular loyalty, in part, through their capacity to express the identity of ethno-religious groups seeking to maintain their cultural integrity in opposition to other groups. Moran, as an Irish Catholic, had been a Democrat, in part, because of "heritage." However, in the early twentieth century, voting for a party no longer expressed an ethno-religious identity. The line between Republicans and Democrats no longer mirrored the divisions between major ethno-religious communities. In addition, (and notable from a comparative perspective) neither did American parties articulate with pre-political, class based identities, unlike the political systems of most developed, capitalist democracies (Lipset and Rokkan, 1967; Alexander, 1981; Burnham, 1982: 142-3; Kleppner, 1982: 148-50).

Secondly, as Burnham, demonstrates, the fall in vote correlates with a decline in significant two party competition throughout vast geographic regions of the country. In Michigan too, as in the nation at large, the elections of 1894-1896 durably shifted the relative electoral strength of the two parties and altered their coalitional bases. The Democrats were precipitated into a position of weakness throughout the "Fourth Party System," 1896-1928. Effective party competition died out in the state, paralleling processes at the national level. One-party regimes were institutionalized in the North and the South, with the Republicans in control at the national level (with the exception of the Wilsonian upheaval). For example, in the Michigan vote for governor, Democrats in the nineteenth century moved from a definite minority in the period of 1860-1872 to a rough parity with Republicans in 1874-1892.[21] After the depression of 1893, voters decisively repudiated the Democratic party (until the Progressive upheaval of 1912-18.) In 1894 and thereafter Democrats "were thrust into a virtually hopeless minority position (Burnham, 1970: 114)."

The fall in voter turnout points to the weakness of the Democrats and the lack of party competition. The two parties no longer presented viable alternative policy choices to voters in elections. Burnham points to additional measures that also suggest the decline in the parties' capacity to package relevant political identities and choices for the electorate. The amount of split-ticket voting versus a straight party ballot measures the extent of popular partisan loyalty. Michigan again was typical of Northern states in the electoral "system of 1896." Ticket-splitting, or variance between party votes for different state offices, was minimal in the nineteenth century, indicating that citizens were casting their votes for the party's entire slate of candidates. In 1904 variance jumped exponentially from the nineteenth century's minimal rate (Burnham, 1970: 111-2; Burnham, 1986: 293-6).

What consequences did this political realignment have for Detroit's journals? The altered political constellation of this Fourth Party System, 1896-1928 (as evidenced in declining voter rates and increasing spit ticket voting), made politics in general, and partisan identities in particular, less salient for citizens. Consequently political news became less of a dramatic, gripping story for readers. Political stories declined as a percent of the total number of articles in the Detroit papers in election years from 47.5% in 1896 to 23.8% in 1916 (while references to parties in political news suffered a long-term decrease from 80% to 23% over the period 1880 to 1916.) The incentives of the nineteenth century that had been used to enforce partisan correctness on competing Detroit dailies no longer existed. Without the symbolic ties holding voters to party, there was no stick of boycotting readers nor carrot of gaining loyal partisan subscribers to induce papers to their ritual affirmations of party loyalty. But, in addition, the new electoral context also provided incentives for newspapers to jump the party ship. As the following section shows, Detroit newspapers joined the Democrats in advocating anti-party reform.

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[21] Michigan, as with other northern states, saw a long-term secular rise in Democratic support in 1874-1892. This represented general demographic changes in the population make-up. Many midwest states saw an in migration of the ethno-cultural groups typically supporting the Democrats, most specifically Germans. Cf. Jensen, 1971.

	Percent of Newspaper articles referring to politics[22]			Percent of political articles referring to parties[23]	
Election Year	Percent	Non-election Year	Percent	Year	Percent
1868	41.3%	1867	40.2%	1868	
1872	40.2	1871	35.1	1872	58.2%
1876	38.9	1875	27.2	1876	55.5
1880	58.8	1879	36.8	1880	81.4
1884	56.5	1883	29.1	1884	63
1888	39.4	1887	36.4	1888	58.1
1892	32.9	1891	29.2	1892	41
1896	47.5	1895	NA	1896	44.8
1900	43.4	1899	40.7	1900	40.7
1904	37.5	1903	28.8	1904	44.8
1908	31.4	1907	26.6	1908	37.2
1912	NA	1911	36.7	1912	NA
1916	23.8	1915	17.5	1916	23.1
		1919	38.5		

Michigan's Path to Reform

Historians have elaborated three alternative paths to reform in this new political universe. Richard McCormick's analysis of New York State politics views independent voters and reformers as the carriers of anti-party reform. New York after 1896 retained relatively competitive parties. Democrats and Republicans used patronage and traditional partisan appeals to shore up their electoral support. However, independents were able to use their strength as the balance of power between the two parties to extract anti-party reform measures from the Republicans (McCormick, 1981). A second pathway to reform emerged on the national level. According to Stephen Skowronek, the Republicans at the national level, now freed from the political pressures of close elections, were no longer obliged to turn all governmental jobs into party-patronage tools. Party outsiders, like Theodore Roosevelt, expanded civil service to jobs previously taken as electoral spoils by the victorious party.

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[22] This is a percent of the total number of newspaper articles. It does not count total newspaper space devoted to politics, but there is no reason to suspect that this difference introduces any bias into the measure. Secondly, this is the relative number of articles. The newspaper increased in size over this time period. Therefore, the absolute number of articles discussing politics may have remained the same. Still, the point remains that politics has become a less central focal point of the press.

In non-election years a number of events create blimps in the counting. 1895 saw an outbreak of small pox in Detroit. The press launched a crusade against "municipal mishandling;" of health measures. Thus, there are a lot of political articles in my sampled 1895 issues. Also 1899 and 1919 are war-filled years which heightens the amount of U. S. political news.

[23] Comments: 1892 is often noted to have lower levels of political involvement and partisanship. 1896 with its disruption of all traditional party lines, and polices helped to emphasize the standard-bearers--Bryan and McKinley--over traditional party labels.

Reform in Michigan, however, followed a third, Democratic path, similar to the route Stephen Sarasohn has described for national politics. With greater numbers of independent voters and the Democratic party fundamentally discredited, the strategic electoral calculus for the two parties was fundamentally altered. The nineteenth century's close electoral competition and fixed voter loyalties had turned the two parties into voter mobilizing machines. The party's chief task had been to rally its "troops" for maximum voter turnout at election battles. But now, voter allegiances were weakened and election victory margins were more than a few percentage points. Insisting on the old party loyalties of the masses of voters would not ensure election victory. Morale-boosting in the press and rallying the troops in campaign tours would not help, even if numerous journals had not quit the Democrats. In this electoral context, the party had less invested in the electoral game as it was played by nineteenth century rules.[24] Therefore, they sought new issues, new policy divides, that would expand their electoral appeal. As McCormick notes, the minority party is the traditional voice for innovation (1981: 104). Democrats in the wolverine state hooked up with insurgent Republicans to make broad public appeals for political reform in 1904. The Republicans, in turn, facing no substantial external threats, continued their own internal factional conflicts over reform.

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[24] Also, Sarasohn (1989: XI) claims that the Democrats, with constituents on the outside of the establishment, were more hospitable to reform.

The pitched battles within the Republican party were a holdover from the days of Governor Hazen Pingree's tremendous fury against elite control of the machinery of government. Democrats in Michigan, like their fellow party members in the Congress, often played second fiddle to insurgent congressional Republicans.[25] In McCormick's accounting, reform issues and ties between government and moneyed interests broke fully into public consciousness with the shocking revelations of the 1905 New York state insurance hearings. But for Michigan, such issues had already been the subject of political polemics and public concern since Governor Pingree's tenure. Simplifying his agenda, in 1899 Pingree had declared, "the two greatest questions of the day are the trusts and the popular elections of senators," in other words--the developing concentration of wealth and its control over Republican party policies (Holli, 1969: 207). Despite Pingree's retirement then death in 1901, these reform battles continued throughout the Progressive era, 1900-1916 (Campbell, 1941).

In Michigan, Democrats were often the leaders in calls for political reform. Thus in 1904 the Democrats nominated reform candidate Professor Woodbridge Ferris. The state platform advocated Progressive reform much more strenuously than the national platform which was headed by conservative business candidate Alton Parker (Cf. Porter, 1966: 130-5). *News* publisher, James Scripps, summarily characterized the divergence between the state and national nominees:

> In the Democratic party, meanwhile Judge Parker is the nominee of the interests which use money most largely in the control of governmental affairs, while in this state the ticket and platform are squarely for the restoration to the people of the powers of nomination.[26]

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[25] On Pingree as governor see Catlin, 1924: 636-640, 628; Holli, 1969: ch. 9. The state Republican party was split into two open warring factions. The factions continued the battles over corporation taxation and also party reform that Pingree had initiated. When Pingree took over as governor in 1896 it was to fight the legislature's checkmating of his municipal reforms. The legislature had passed "ripper" laws where control of relevant city government departments had passed into the hands of the state government or independent commissions. Such legislation was a typical tactic of Republican state governments against Democratic control of city politics. When Pingree entered the Governor's mansion, the state legislature divided into Republican reform and standpat factions. Opposed to Pingree's measures such as equal taxation of previously exempt railroad property were the notorious "immortal nineteen." These nineteen were state senators from the upper peninsula and allied with the state party leader, McMillan, and large corporate interests of mining, lumber and railroads.

[26] "The Great Political Issue of 1904," *Detroit News-Tribune*, Oct. 2, 1904, p. 2.

Gubernatorial candidate Ferris gained the support of Detroit's Democratic newspapers, the *News-Tribune* and the *Times*, and was opposed by the classically Republican *Journal*. The papers joined traditional partisan press tactics to several innovations. As in the past, the press published partisan jibes; editorials; letters to the editor supposedly representing spontaneous, popular sentiment; biased news accounts of political rallies for the purpose of convincing readers that the favored candidate had right and voter might on his side; and news stories depicting the social implications of the two parties' programs. In addition, in the news and in the editorials, the papers repeatedly interpreted the issues of the campaign through the stereotyped frame of "the people" (as Democrats) resisting the blandishments of the Republican party machine.

In their news coverage of the campaign, the journals engaged in typical overt partisanship in devoting one-sided coverage to their party's nominee for governor while downplaying attention to the opposition. Coverage consisted of two parts rallying to one part verbatim reporting of the words and arguments of the candidate. This rallying news sought to demonstrate that candidate Ferris, or his Republican opponent Fred Warner, enjoyed a ground swell of popular support. The developing popular acclaim would be sure to overturn all age-old partisan loyalties and expert predications. This partisan bias operated through the newspaper's standard division of political labor. In this distribution of tasks among journalists, the paper's usual state political corespondent trailed the candidate on his campaign trail. The campaign hopped from small town to small town with each stop the occasion for a political rally and a news story. The reporter's accounts were printed sequentially for one to three columns in the daily paper. The journalist, who was typically assigned to a regular news beat in Lansing, the state capital, was long practiced at applying the proper amount of political spin to his story. His narrative voice was on display in his praise for the candidate's performance and his estimation of the crowd's enthusiasm. John Fitzgibbon, long time political reporter for the *Evening News*, supplied this rhetoric from Ferris' tour:

> At the close of Mr. Ferris' speech scores of republicans, some men who have been high in the councils of the party for the last 25 years, flocked to the platform, and, grasping the hand of the candidate, pledged him their support in

> his magnificent fight for the salvation of Michigan from a rule of machine corruption. The history of politics in this county never witnessed such an upheaval. For months there has been unrest and an undercurrent of protest against the machine...but with the arrival of Mr. Ferris the storm broke. The lieutenants of Warden Vincent in this county are amazed at the defections in the ranks of their party.
>
> "Honest John" Lane...introduced Mr. Ferris to the cheering hundreds and at the close of the meeting, in his enthusiasm, he proposed three cheers for the next governor. [etc.][27]

For all the emphatic exuberance of the newspapers whooping it up in the election campaign, 1904 newspaper politics were strikingly different from previous years. The avowed campaign program for the previously Democrat papers--the *News*, the *Times*, and the *Tribune*--was political reform. They were breaking from the power of party machines. However, this rhetoric of reform and nonpartisanship was complicated by the weak position of the Democrats and the initiation of primary elections in Detroit's local contests.

The press, especially the *Evening News*, supported candidates in both Democrat and Republican camps. In part this was a specific political strategy when the Republican party possessed an almost overwhelmingly hold on popular affections and votes. Democrats and their papers conceded the election of Theodore Roosevelt to the White House and tried to divorce the national contest from state politics. Thus, the *News* editorialized:

> Intelligent observers must concede the state to Mr. Roosevelt by a plurality which promises to be unprecedented, if a full vote turns out.
>
> If it were strictly a party contest there would be no enthusiasm, because in such a case the result would be fore ordained by the power of the natural majorities. Michigan is under rational conditions a Republican state by an overwhelming majority...in this year...a strictly democratic campaign would have been ridiculously impotent.."[28]

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[27] *News*, Oct. 3 1904, p. 4. On reporter Fitzgibbon See the *News*, Dec. 30, 1927 and upon his death Feb. 24, 1931. For an example of similar reporting from the *Times* see the issue of Oct. 15, 1904, p. 2.

[28] *News*, Oct. 16, 1904, p. 2, c. 1.

Consequently, any Democratic campaign for state office could enjoy a chance of success only by separating the state contest from the national, and the political issues from the operation of party loyalties.

Indeed Democrat Ferris with the support of Detroit Progressive journals conducted his gubernatorial campaign as a general onslaught on the entangling webs of partisan commitment. The election was run as a crusade claiming that the issues were above traditional partisan loyalties and that the very crux of the campaign was a fight against the corruption that followed from such ritualistic partisanship. Furthermore, Ferris tried to divorce his issues from traditional Democratic or Republican associations. Not surprisingly, the Republicans responded by seeking to invoke the old issues and allegiances that had forged their overwhelming majority in Michigan. The Democrats asserted, "It is not in any sense a contest between the two great political parties, but a revolt of the people of Michigan against an evil system which has deprived them of the powers of government." It was "a grand awakening of the public conscience."[29]

The *Evening News*, thus, instructed voters how to prepare their ballots in order to split their votes between Roosevelt for the presidency and Democrat reformers for Michigan offices. It stated that "many republicans are bolting for Ferris, though naming Roosevelt as their presidential choice," in order to ease and justify the heretical practice of ticket splitting.[30]

The Republicans continually attempted to raise a Democratic bogeyman to chase its members back to the party fold, while Democratic newspapers mocked the Republican efforts.[31] For example, Republican State Senator William A. Smith argued:

> Cleveland's last administration put factories out of business; the Democratic campaign of 1896 drove money into hiding: Parker's name has not been heard in Michigan this campaign; the party led by the intrepid Roosevelt can always be

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[29] *News*, Oct. 16, 1904, p. 2.

[30] *News*, Oct. 16, 1904, p. 1.

[31] *News*, Oct. 3, 1904, p. 10.

> depended upon to do the right thing: let's give three cheers for Roosevelt." The crowd responded. William Alden [Smith] fired this shot: "The platform Mr. Ferris stands upon denounces protection policy as robbery. A vote for Ferris is a vote for free trade...[etc.]

The Democrats parodied the Republican's defensive election rhetoric:

> Here lies the power of the machine. Pretty soon you will hear [Republican Senator] Burrows, Young and other high-power teat suckers, telling you how much they love you, and how the grand Republican party (tears) wants to protect the poor but honest laboring man...Now, gentlemen, after you have listened to this kind of dope for a few weeks, you will say to yourself, "Oh, this is a presidential election and I must vote straight."
>
> ...As for your humble servant, Roosevelt and Ferris is a good enough combination for him.[32]

However strategically useful, the rhetoric and tactics of nominee Ferris and the Detroit journals clearly went beyond being only a clever gambit for a Democratic party desperate for power.[33] Their generalized attack on partisanship would be sure to rebound on the Democrats too, hindering continued party loyalty and organization. For example, the *News* published one such argument of Ferris against continued partisanship in a boxed quote. The box with its bold, enlarged type is a typical device used by papers to endorse the quoted sentiments and to suggest that the words are worthy of the readers' attention. This quote was illustrated with an engraved, hagiographic portrait of the speaker, Ferris: The headline read "Principle Above Party," as Ferris preached "You voters have got to stand on principle. You can be either republican or democrat but IF YOU ARE SLAVES OF EITHER PARTY WITHOUT PRINCIPLE YOU ARE PART TO THE WORST KIND OF MACHINE..." Such arguments ended up attacking all party ties. This publicity popularized the reformers' criticisms of parties in strong rhetoric and simplified demonological terms.

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[32] News, Oct. 3, 1904, p.10.

[33] Thomas Leonard elaborates a much broader picture of the development of this independent and critical investigative reporting which culminates in the Progressive era (1986). He also presents a strong argument for the political consequences of this new cynical journalism.

The *Evening News* published similar slashing attacks on "blind loyalty" to any party. Here the *News* typically invoked Progressive era ideology of the purification of democracy which opposed pure party line voting. Against such blind obedience "they extolled independent voting as the mark of the educated, intelligent class (Kleppner, 1987: 170)."

Other tactics of the *News*, beyond its campaign for Ferris, undermined traditional conceptions of loyalty to the party. Roosevelt's overwhelming popular appeal rendered all opposition to him futile. Roosevelt became the President for the united nation. The *News*, in response, offered its readers a colored lithographic portrait of "Our Popular President" midst the campaign.[34] More importantly, the *News* crossed party lines itself, endorsing candidates without regard for their formal party affiliation. Rather, the *News*' criteria was those candidates "who may be depended upon to advocate the principles [of reform.]"[35]

Such ideological outlooks point to the press and political reformers' immersion in the Progressive reform movement. If not true believers of Progressive philosophy, newspapers and political reformers at least drew upon the Progressives' diverse rhetorics of reform. This positive program of political reconstruction cannot be deduced just from changed political conditions following the 1896 election. As Skowronek explains, the realignment merely released political actors from the cost-benefit calculus specific to the Third Party System, with its emphasis on party organization and party loyalty. The new opportunities did not dictate the shape of the new political world or the new journalism (Skowronek, 1982: 167-71). Only the elaboration of a new political culture and a novel occupational ethic could permanently sever the newspaper from all party relations and political alliances. Moreover, this upholding of the press as impartial and above politics depended upon the idea that journalism, in particular, and middle-class professionals, in general, could produce disinterested, and objective knowledge as technical experts. Such a new cultural model was necessary to stabilize a new political role for the press in a transformed public sphere. In the end, reformers in the polity and in the press interacted to forge a new political universe (Cf. Kleppner, 1987: 226).

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[34] *News*, Oct. 6, 1904.

[35] *News*, Oct. 10, 1904.

The Fall elections of 1904 revealed the political fruit of all this attempted sabotage of partisanship. As already noted, variance or ticket-splitting escalated in 1904. Detroit papers predicted Roosevelt's victory in Michigan and he achieved a landslide in the state and in the nation. Roosevelt garnered 361,000 votes compared to the Democrat Parker's 134,000, an extremely lopsided vote. However, the gubernatorial race was much closer. Reformer Ferris lost with 223,000 to the Republican machine candidate's 284,000. In voting for president and governor, approximately, 78,000 voters (or sixteen percent) split their ballots between the two parties while 11,000 balked at voting for any presidential candidate after voting for governor. It is interesting to note that Ferris' vote count is close to the Democrats' total for the same office in 1902. This suggests that Roosevelt was able to draw Democratic votes, while Ferris only retained the traditional Democratic vote.[36]

Throughout the following decades the Republican party would continue to be convulsed with factional and sectional disputes over the issues of reform and tariff (Kleppner, 1987: 134-6). Most famous was the party disruption occasioned by Roosevelt's disavowal of his Republican successor, William Taft, and Roosevelt's subsequent capture of the Progressive Party presidential nomination in 1912. Michigan's Republican party, too, was the scene of Republican defections to the state Progressive party. All of this ushered in the election in 1912 of a Democratic governor--the perennial campaigner Professor Ferris. This political turmoil perpetuated the attacks on partisanship and the confusion of traditional party allegiances.

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[36] Compare Kleppner (1987: 128-31) who says Republican voting was stable in the period of 1902-1904.

In this Progressive environment, the newspapers for both pragmatic and ideological reasons strenuously advocated political reform and independence from strict party lines. Their campaigns with all their strident exhortations continued aspects of past partisan practices, and yet also helped to reconstruct the political universe and what it meant to participate politically. They undermined the popular partisan loyalties that had worked to bind newspapers to parties.

The New Structure of Primary Elections

Other changes more directly undermined the political relevance of parties and partisanship in the campaign of 1904. The fall election season in Detroit was prefaced by primary elections. Detroit had already obtained a "local option" of primary elections, even if the state Republican party was unwilling to extend such legislation to the state as a whole. Within the Republican and Democrat parties, candidate were jousting for the right to gain the parties' official nomination for various city offices from Mayor on down to coroner.

Primaries made a number of notable changes in the political universe. In V. O. Key's famous interpretation, primaries fundamentally weakened the minority party. The smaller party was deprived of its control of the right of opposition, as primaries allowed competition to migrate into the dominant party which possessed all real chances of winning a political office (Key, 1954). However a more specific shift occurred in the interaction of voters and politics that also attacked the relevance of parties. Most notably, in primaries party could no longer act as a cue for the mass public in guiding their choices among the various candidates for public office. The cluster of traditional associations, policy choices and governing consequences that voters attached to parties were not available as a basis for discrimination between different candidates (Cf. Burnham, 1987; Kleppner, 1987). The problem became the adequate familiarity and knowledge for voters of candidates when party identification was not available as an ongoing basis of identification. One "expert politician" analyzed the 1904 primary with its bewildering number of swarming politicians:

> The scramble [of candidates] furnishes considerable humor to the onlookers though the principals cannot find it so very funny. The scratching and leg-running of the candidates for coroner, for instance, to let even a small section of the public know who they are and what they want...has become the joke of the campaign. It is a very clever citizen who will know his own candidates when he comes up against a three-foot city ticket...The big guns running for mayoralty...and other important offices have completely overshadowed the field, and what extra public mental energy is left is mostly taken up with state and national politics.

The expert predicted that future primaries would be more selective,

> [once] prospective candidates have found out what it costs to run any campaign...[they will see that] a man is not warranted in entering a fight unless he has strong friends--for this is a big constituency...[Also,] a man will have to be before the people for some time before he can reasonably hope for political honors, or at least that he make himself and his record so well known that the people know who he is.[37]

For reformers such as Scripps, the replacement of corrupt party conventions by primaries would purify democracy. The voter's rational choice would replace blind party loyalty and the secret string-pulling of money. To educate voters in the performance of their civic duties, new knowledge was needed. Without parties, various other agencies stepped in to bridge the gap between citizens and politicians. Civic organizations and interest groups sought to guide voters past the potential mishaps of primary elections and the tricks and ruses of the old party machines.

Scripps' evening paper gave extensive space to the Municipal League for their exhaustive list of candidates replete with summary evaluations. The League variously recommended the candidate, or stated that he was "well-qualified," or made no endorsement at all. This civic group was presumably an independent, non-partisan group whose evaluation reflected no political agenda except efficient government. In the paper's judgment, "the Municipal League is one of several agencies through which the general public may obtain reliable and unprejudiced information."[38] Other intermediaries found entrance into the pages of the press. For instance, the *Times* in its column called "Political Straws" reported the endorsements of various civic groups along with those of local party clubs.

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[37] *News*, Oct. 9, 1904, p. 13.

[38] *News*, Oct. 4, 1904.

> Harry L. Schellenberg, candidate for justice of the peace, has been endorsed by the Women's Independent Voter's association.[39]

The *News*, too, surveyed candidates on the issue of municipal ownership of the city transportation system and other questions. They polled the politicians so "that the people might understand the views on this question of the men who ask their votes at the primaries,"[40] and they polemicized against all those who refused to answer the *News'* queries in the name of the people:

> ...[I]t is a deliberate insult to ask men to vote for you if you are unwilling to tell them not only where you stand and what you intend to do, but where you have stood and what you have done in the past...Our whole political system necessarily presupposes the right of the meanest citizen to question any man who solicits his vote for any place of power and the candidate who refuses to answer becomes by that very fact unfit for any position of public trust.[41]

Thus newspapers, both as collectors of information useful to voters and in their editorial endorsements, sought to guide the voter in his choices. Just as in the past, papers were one of the chief public arbitrators of the public's will. However, now journals were not supplying cues to voters as a representative of the party. Separate from parties but still central organs of public communication, the papers gained an enormous power to arbitrate the words and recommendations that reached the citizenry. Newspapers, such as the *Free Press*, the *Journal* and the *Evening News*, built up an autonomous cache of legitimacy as trustworthy representatives of the public interest, (which meant, in turn, that they were subject to attacks that tried to impugn their impartiality and political independence.)[42]

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[39] *Times*, Oct. 15, 1904, p. 8. Other civic groups mentioned are the Independent Voter's Club and the Good Citizen's League. Also cf. the *News*, Oct. 15, 1904, p. 9.

[40] *News*, Oct. 5, 1904.

[41] *News*, Oct. 4, 1904, p. 2.

[42] See, for example the advertisement of Edwin Denby which cites various newspapers endorsements of him. Times, Oct. 15, 1904. Journalism's detachment from political bases of legitimacy, from the mechanisms of political delegation, in the name of independent judgment freed from all personal interests, meant they also were open to attacks trying to impugn their independence.

In addition, the pages of the press became pluralized. The political space was filled with more voices than just the parties and their disputatious factions. Any voice, given adequate money or legitimacy as a civic group, could gain entry into the supposedly neutral medium of mass publicity, i.e. the press. The sampled 1904 edition of the *Detroit Times* printed nineteen columns of political advertisements or about twenty-there percent of the available space.[43] Edmund Booth wrote about the press' role as an open medium for various political voices:

> We must not forget, however, that a daily newspaper is a kind of public trust and that the true publisher is the one that tries to handle the thing impersonally--equal rights for all, special privileges for none.[44]

Given this new openness of the press and the lack of party as a guide for voters in primary elections, political candidates flooded the newspapers with advertisements. The politicians tried to mobilize a mix of appeals to capture the vote. The advertisements were mostly photos of the candidates with short captions. The captions referred to the politician's upstanding character or briefly mentioned policy positions, but made little or no reference to party affiliation. In effect, candidates were forced to market themselves as individual personalities without reference to party positions and without the use of the party organization. In Richard Jensen's categories, a new candidate merchandising approach superseded the party mobilizing of voters (Jensen, 1969: 43-5; Burnham, 1982: 95-7).

The power of parties, both in controlling nominations and in guiding voters' choices, was under siege in the new primary system. Party as an ongoing symbolic system directing voters through the maze of choices was inapplicable in primary elections.[45] Furthermore, the novel tactics of candidates in primaries and the new openness of newspapers undermined the dominance of parties in the public sphere and weakened the salience of party to the mass electorate. Primary candidates were forced to go it alone. Those seeking office were unable to command party symbols or organization in fighting their fellow Republicans or Democrats. The pages of the press as a central medium of public communication were opened to diverse organized voices in civil society. Thus, primaries, with their admixture of reformer propaganda touting the virtue of independence, effectively constituted an attack on party power. These changes undermined the attachment of voters to parties and made papers better able to break from the constraints of formal partisanship. The decline of party power gave more freedom to newspapers to pilot an independent course.

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[43] *Times*, Oct. 15, 1904.

[44] Letter, Edmund W. Booth to Henry Booth dated March 13, 1913 (Cranbrook Archives.)

[45] On the role of parties in rendering clear and comprehensible political programs, political responsibility and hence voter choices see Burnham, 1987: 102-4, 123-4.

This pluralization of the medium of public communication was both an opening for new voices in the public realm and a displacement of parties. Rights of public speech were formerly automatic for parties. Now, the press arbitrated such rights for all political actors. Parties, however, had been the central vehicle for thematizing public issues and uniting governmental policy with the will of the electorate. In the analysis of Walter Dean Burnham, parties were attacked and displaced in the Progressive era for precisely this reason. They rendered the government's policy decisions too public. A more privatized political decision-making process would insulate capitalist industrialization from redistributive efforts by farmers and workers, as manifested in the Populist movement and the Knights of Labor (Burnham, 1981: 162-64; 1982: 47-50; 1986: 269-74).[46] Furthermore, a more privatized legislative process would allow economic interest groups to achieve results more favorable to them without the counter-balance of organized public opinion. For Burnham, only parties succeed in turning policy contentions into public battles between parties for the voter's favor.

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[46] While Burnham addresses the issue of redistributive governmental policy and the veto of such efforts by the Fourth Party System, Paul Kleppner and Richard McCormick discuss governance in the Fourth Party System when the question is the necessary governmental regulation of the economy. In the standard neo-Marxist analysis that they duplicate, at a certain stage of economic development and concentration society organizes to rationalize the market and control some of the deleterious consequences of unregulated production and competition. The market is no longer sacrosanct as the government must intervene. The issue becomes how to ensure that this politicization of the market does not turn into a full, democratic discussion challenging corporate interests and even the presuppositions of private control and profit. Cf. Offe, 1984; Vajda, 1978: chs. 8-10; McCormick, 1986: 19-25, 83-5, 222-227, 274-80.

The New Journalistic Ethic of Independence and Public Service

By 1908 the rhetoric of non-partisanship was embedded in a new set of journalistic practices and institutional opportunities and constraints. This new ethic, however, was not just a passive adaptation to the new opportunities opened up by the political changes of the Fourth Party System, Progressive era reforms, and the new economics of the retail revolution. It was also a positive project, articulated forcefully by newspaper publishers. Detroit publishers, like other journalists across the nation, were driven by a vision of a new ordering of society (Hofstadter, 1954: 186-98). James and Edward Scripps, James Schermerhorn, publisher of the *Detroit Times*, and George Booth, director of the *Detroit News*, were advocates for the movements of social reform of the Progressive period (Stark, 1943; Currie, 1968; Tompkins, 1969). Nevertheless, the new ethic with all its high-minded pronouncements established no independent standpoint from which journalists could criticize American society. When the movement passions of Progressive reform had ebbed, the journalistic ethic of public service and independence became simple conformity to mass sentiment and to the viewpoints of political officials and economic elites.

In 1906 George Booth ascended to general control of the *Detroit News* after the death of his father-in-law, James Scripps. He had drunk deeply from the fountain of journalistic independence, imbibing a strong draught of the ethic of nonpartisanship from the teachings of Scripps. The possibilities as well as the limits of the ethic can be discerned in his editorials, his public pronouncements, and his private correspondence.

The most prominent theme in George Booth's reform ideals was "public service," a note repeatedly touted in his private and public statements. Booth asserted his devotion to public service in public platitudes:

> A newspaper desiring a position of prominence, influence and profit in its field must learn to serve. The more thoroughly and efficiently it serves the uplifting of constructive life of the community, the greater its financial reward and the longer it will enjoy life.

> ...Make your newspaper SERVE, constructively serve the public interest first; your reward will come without great effort.[47]

He also declaimed on public service in private correspondence with his brother Edmund. The letters between brothers served the dual function of coordinating the management of their chain of Booth papers in eight Michigan cities and of intellectual consultation. For example, on July 7, 1907 he wrote:

> We are conscious that we have no other ambition in a newspaper way than to do those things that mean success, the main purpose in such efforts being to insure good government and to encourage anything that tends to the welfare and happiness of the people in general.[48]

Such journalistic devotion to public service was united with the Progressive reform tradition. It participated in the movements in the early twentieth century trying to reform and uplift society. The reform tradition is evident in George Booth's letter of 1906 offering his brother guidance upon entering into the world of newspaper publishing. Booth declared there was a continuity between brother Edmund's past work with the YMCA and his future tasks as a newspaper manager:

> That your new work while differing perhaps in great essentials from the old work after all has in it the spirit which aims to lift people up, to help towards progress, improvement, improvement in the social and moral conditions, that it is the enemy of crime, public and privates sins, etc. That it is itself the very spirit of the people yet may in its direction do much to show the way to higher ideals in personal, civic and national life, etc.[49]

In the same letter Booth went on to articulate the standard enlightenment-republican model of the press and demonstrated his belief in the effects of the great reform movements of the day:

> Of course in the minds of many, a newspaper is merely a vendor of news, and the publisher is not particular as to the kind of news...[But] it would not be a

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[47] George G. Booth, "Notes for An Address" (Cranbrook Archives. Internal dating suggests the document was written circa 1920.

[48] Letter, George G. Booth to Edmund W. Booth dated July 30, 1907 (Cranbrook Archives.) Other documents that sound the theme of public service are: Document entitled "1913" (Cranbrook Archives) by Edmund W. Booth announcing the formation of a philanthropic fund in Grand Rapids (Booth, 1918).

[49] Letter, George G. Booth to Edmund W. Booth dated April 19, 1906 (Cranbrook Archives) and cf. Pound, 1964: 224-5.

> newspaper if it did not hold up the mirror in a general way to the people every day. Nothing is feared so much as publicity by the wrongdoer, and by the free publication of all kinds of news the people of this country have become enlightened and do not act in the dark. The tremendous upheaval going on at present...[is] in a sense chargeable to the press.[50]

In this model of devotion to the public good, an ethic of independence guided Booth. He emphasized that neither his own interests nor those of his partners and staff were involved in the selection of the paper's editorial content. The newspaper must guard its independence so as to avoid all entangling and incriminating economic ties. Newspaper workers, in fact, had to observe a rigorous code of behavior. Owners, editors, and reporters must resist the blandishments offered by the political and economic powers. In the early twentieth century Booth saw, as did Edward Scripps, the intertwining of the press with powerful interests as a permanent difficulty for newspapers.[51] Their fears correspond to those of middle-class progressives who were embroidering a worrisome tapestry of a corrupt society under the control of monopolistic corporations and the rich.[52]

Perhaps economic incentives offered the strongest personal temptation to the modern business publisher. The letters among the men of the Booth chain repeatedly refer to their ethical stand in this regard. Edmund Booth writes that in conversation with a major, local bank director, "I...very good naturedly informed him that you and I in our code of ethics for an independent newspaper did not permit ourselves to be bank stockholders."[53] Two weeks later Edmund contrasted the actions of Booth managers with those of a local priest who had a finger in every local economic pot: "We even set a standard for our reporters and say that they shall have no outside affiliations because such relations are contrary to our ethics of independent journalism." [54] George Booth summarized their position, "[The newspaper man's] money must flow only in those fields of business which cannot be construed as prejudicing or tainting his convictions (Pound 1964: 236)."

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[50] Ibid. and cf. Pound, 1964: 234.

[51] See Knight, 1966: 238-45. And cf. Letter, George G. Booth to Edmund W. Booth dated July 9, 1908 (Cranbrook Archives.)

[52] On the fading away of such fears in the 1920s see Hofstadter, 1967. In addition, as many historians have written, this time period saw a great rationalization of the organization of the market. Corporations were achieving more and more coordinated control of production and distribution of goods. At the same time, the capitalist class as a whole was establishing its own social, economic and political organizations producing more of a group cohesiveness and capacity to act as coordinate ruling class. Cf. Kleiman, 1986; Couvares, 1984.

[53] Letter, Edmund W. Booth to George G. Booth dated Dec. 7, 1907 (Cranbrook Archives) and Cf. Pound, 1964: 217, 235-6.

Economic interests threatened the viability of independent journalism on two levels--individual payoffs and more general payoffs in the form of newspaper profits. Publishing profits might soar if the newspaper tempered its news and editorial policies to the interests of advertisers or the mass audience. Of course, no paper, certainly not the *Detroit News*, ever ignores the tastes of the readers.[55] Nevertheless, even in private, Edmund Booth professed shock at the policies of the Edward Scripps' chain of cheap, down-market papers.

> About the venal motive of the Scripps-McRae papers, I have received a distinct impression so...I mean by it a lack of appreciation of ethics that govern the leading newspapers of today, a failure to appreciate the opportunities and responsibilities to render service to the community and a subordination of the whole enterprise to the get-money quick idea...[56]

Similarly, favors from the political system could be manifest in particular patronage to individual workers or in profits to a newspaper as a whole. Booth newspapers forbade employees from accepting any political positions. When Michigan Governor Groesbeck considered appointing brother Ralph Booth to a vacancy in the Senate, George Booth stepped in and vetoed the offer. Booth commented to the paper's DC. staff correspondent, "While in one sense I would like Ralph to achieve his reasonable ambitions, it has not been in accord with my own ideas of newspaper life that he should desire any kind of political appointment." But later, Booth acceded to his brother's wishes and Ralph gained the political office of U. S. Ambassador to Denmark (Pound, 1964: 458-9).

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[54] Letter, Edmund W. Booth to George G. Booth dated Dec. 20, 1907 (Cranbrook Archives.)

[55] For example, James Scripps in plotting out his ideas for a "model one cent paper," ....

[56] Letter, Edmund W. Booth to George G. Booth dated July, 30, 1908. And cf. George G. Booth, "Notes for an Address" pp. 1, 4. (Cranbrook Archives.)

More importantly, political independence implied that the newspaper had no permanent ties to any individual, group or party and that general principles, not particular interests, governed its editorial columns.

> Our own men, the managers and others, are certainly conscious that we have no political ambitions, that we have never tried to use the paper to further any particular political party or individuals from any political standpoint. We believe it our duty as a newspaper to see that public offices are not private scraps, and that is about all the interest we have in any political office.[57]

Five years later, writing more generally on their papers' relation to the campaign of Theodore Roosevelt, Booth remarked:

> In our recent graft [bribery] experience in Detroit, even our rival newspapers...imagined that the News would be embarrassed in investigating the graft charges on Alderman Glinnan because in the past the News has supported him...But this did not trouble us at all. We stand for principles. It is never personal...Our papers never can be wrong in such cases when they stand for issues and principles and not the individuals. [58]

In fact, Booth declared it was not particularly advantageous in the contemporary era for any journal to receive political patronage or to be identified with particular causes or interests. On the one hand, such "public pap" would deter the partisan paper from pursuing the rigors of real competition. Living on political easy street, it would pose less of a competitive threat to a Booth paper. On the other hand, Booth believed the public was less tolerant of newspapers being used to promote private particular interests. A hermeneutics of suspicion guided the modern reader. Educated by the persistent anti-monopoly propaganda of the Progressives, the public perused the columns of the news for signs of concealed political interests.

> I do not think it matters at all to us what they [competing papers] may try to do. I regard any money they may receive as public pap in the way of state and other [governmental] advertising in the long run as detrimental to their interests...It has been my experience that papers receiving public patronage, particularly weaker papers, incline to lean upon that kind of support and their competition in the legitimate advertising field is never quite so keen...

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[57] Letter, George G. Booth to Edmund W. Booth dated July 30, 1907 (Cranbrook Archives.)

[58] Letter, George G. Booth to Edmund W. Booth dated July 31, 1912 (Cranbrook Archives.)

> The prospects of a $2,000 advertising earning at Muskegon [by a Booth paper] this month is certainly encouraging and is the strongest kind of proof that we do not need to have any concern about these political issues....The trick is to prevent the other fellow from getting any excessive compensation for the [political] service he has to render. It is not a bad thing to have the local business atmosphere permeated with the idea that the other paper is a machine paper supported by public pap and is largely operated for private ends and those ends to exploit the state and city of Muskegon for private advantage.[59]

Booth implicitly was pointing to the broad institutional supports for nonpartisanship: expanded advertising and a public adverse to the promotion of particular political views and party interests.

Booth believed so seriously in the idea of a newspaper devoted to public service and not profits or private interests that he argued for public ownership of the press. In the privacy of his letters to his brother he stated that he wanted to go "on record" in support of municipal ownership of papers as feasible and desirable.[60] Furthermore, he repeatedly defined the *News* as a "public institution." As his biographer, Arthur Pound, remarks: "At this stage (in 1917-18) its publishers considered the *News* a semi-public institution, operating under a tacit franchise from the people..."[61]

Booth's service ethic was in part a reaction and rebellion from what he saw as the controlling and corrupting power of trusts, the degraded tastes of mass production and the loss of moral purpose in work.[62] Booth, like the Scripps brothers before him, held on to the republican ethic of individual moral purpose in work, an ethic threatened on many fronts. In this sense, as James Bow has argued, Booth's journalistic ethic displayed an affinity with his Arts and Crafts aesthetic (Bow: 1989a; 1989b; Bingay, 1949: 242, 176). Both, journalistic ethic and aesthetic, tried to recover a purpose for work from the dead instrumentality of commercialized production. Booth supported the local Arts and Craft movement by establishing the Detroit Society of Arts and

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[59] Letter, George G. Booth to Edmund W. Booth dated (Cranbrook Archives) G to E, July 30, 1907. And cf. Booth, "The Senatorship," (1918) p. 3 on legitimate newspaper income.(Cranbrook)

[60] Letter, George G. Booth to Edmund W. Booth dated Nov. 11, 1914 (Cranbrook Archives.)

[61] Pound, 1964: 191 and see the document titled "1913" on establishing a philanthropic foundation in Grand Rapids. (Cranbrook Archives.) Also see Bow, 1989a: 2; Bow, 1989b.

[62] See Booth's lectures, "Art and the American Home" (1905); "Art, Sacrificed to War, Must Rise Again" (1917); "Industrial Art in Museum" (1918); reprinted in Pound, 1964: 473-83. Also, Booth, 1918.

Crafts and the renown Cranbrook educational institution. However, Arts and Crafts tended to be backward looking, while journalism's ethic of public service looked ahead. The Arts and Crafts movement retreated from mass, industrial production to artisan handicraft, just as Booth established his refuge for aesthetic production, the Cranbrook School, in the suburbs far from the modern city of Detroit. Instead the new ethic of journalism sought a place in modern, complex, differentiated society for the news media's specialized social function.

Such were the ideals that Booth vigorously upheld and which guided the *News* in its onslaught on partisanship. This journalistic ethic helped the *Evening News* in its alliance with the Democratic party to break free of all claims of partisan allegiance and to deny ongoing formal ties to a party. Public service and impartiality became the rhetorical mainstay of journalism's self conception and a defense against all external criticism.

Public Service as Legitimation

Journalists used the idea of public service to deny that the individual publisher, editor or reporter gained any particular remuneration or advantage from specific news decisions. Rather, the journalist, as a professional, was devoted to the higher public interest and was rewarded only for serving that public good. As Booth defensively wrote, "Our policies in the conduct of the *News* are not private policies...We have no ulterior motive, no private axe to grind."[63] Booth's strategy here in replying to the criticisms of a prominent businessman points to the general role of such journalistic ethics. They are designed to insulate the newspaper from political attacks and they represent a fundamentally reformulated basis of legitimacy for newspapers since the nineteenth century's justifications of explicit, formal, newspaper partisanship.

The rhetoric of public service, along with ideals of technical efficiency and social reform, were the three main cultural codes used by members of the Progressive reform movement. In the view of historian Daniel Rodgers (1982), the movement, despite its bewildering complexity, found its unity in the appropriation of these three codes in the new political space opened up by the alteration of the party-political system after 1896. Booth's invocation of public service instead of the other Progressive motifs may be attributed to the early time period; rhetoric of public service and moral uplift was more specific to the years 1900-1910. The idea of public service may also have been more appropriate for a publisher, while "efficiency," with its connotations of technical expertise, was more suitable to the middle-class worker aspiring to the status and power of a professional. Indeed, Walter Lippmann (1920; 1965) in his arguments for the training of the reporter in 1918 clearly sought to give reporters added status through claims of special expertise and knowledge. Finally, journalism as a relatively "uninsulated profession" with limited claims of formal training or technical jargons could not convincingly make claims of special knowledge (Schudson, 1978; Tuchman, 1972: 675-6).

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[63] Letter, George G. Booth to H. Chalmers, dated Nov. 7, 1915 (Cranbrook Archives.)

The language of public service along with assertions of technical expertise have been used by different occupations and professions for a variety of purposes. Magali Sarfatti Larson emphasizes the economic advantages to professions which are able to achieve "market closure" through requiring formal training and accreditation to aspiring professionals. She also points to the status and prestige granted to those claiming to be professionals and to serve the pubic interest. More applicable to journalism, Terence Johnson's model emphasizes the power that occupations achieve relative to clients by asserting their professional status and invoking a devotion to public service (Sarfatti-Larson, 1977; Johnson, 1972).

The rhetoric of public service in journalism accomplishes three political purposes. First, the language of public service and independence from social interests helps to legitimate the newspaper's selection and interpretation of stories and to insulate the press from external critics. It guarantees journalism a degree of autonomy from outside criticism, intrusion, and control. In Gaye Tuchman's words, it is a "strategic ritual" (1972; 1978). Like all "professional altruistic codes of ethics, [they] are defenses against the potential distrust of their clients (Collins, 1979: 136)."

Secondly, the rhetoric hides from reporters themselves the political biases of their choices. Notions of impartiality and expertise assure journalists of the purity of their motives and the truth of the knowledge they create, even as it disguises the political processes involved in the coordination of news decisions by a corporate bureaucracy.[64] The news selections of reporters are justified and negotiated through a language of professional values, likely audience appeal, and common sense understandings of the nature of the world. The sociologist Warren Breed in his famous study of "social control in the newsroom" saw reporters pressured to bias the news to fit the views of those higher-up in the newspaper bureaucracy. He believed that owners and editors effectively steered the paper away from objectivity. In actuality, the language of objectivity is the linguistic fig leaf behind which the newspaper's management is able to impose their policy choices as apolitical and professional upon the reporting staff (Breed, 1955; Tuchman, 1972: 662-3, 667, 669; Barsamian 1992: 26-7).

Lastly, the new legitimacy disguises which social interests actually do gain a hearing from the press. The newspaper claims to be impartial. Its selection of the news does not privilege one social class over another. No group because of economic wealth, political power or ethnic heritage has any special ties to the media or the determination of what is newsworthy. In fact, Booth implicitly linked the ethic of public service to the new worries over the power of the press occasioned by the decline of newspaper competition and the abandonment of explicit partisanship.

> Elimination of competition puts an end to the miserable wrangling that once characterized so many newspapers. It assures a community of steadiness of purpose on the part of the publisher; poised in the representation of news and opinion...It tends also to reduce contention in the community. On the other hand, the paper which is fortunate enough to occupy a field alone where once it had competition must beware smugness...of employing its strength unjustly...[etc.] (Pound, 1964: 221).

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[64] Schudson (1978) emphasizes the psychological reassurance for reporters played by codes of objectivity.

And in 1918 Booth delivered a formal speech to the students of the University of Michigan. He again addressed the issues of media concentration and partiality but spoke with a remarkable complacency.

> For a time we are to see the day of fewer newspapers, even single newspapers, in many cities. Contrary to all common reasoning that this will lead to a corrupt journalism, it will bring a feeling of greater responsibility. It will be plain to all that a publisher trusted thus by the people of any community has not alone a great privilege and responsibility, but an assured business opportunity. Many of the faults of which we all now complain will disappear under such circumstances (Booth, 1918).

We might say that under conditions of monopoly or oligopoly, newspapers were open to more serious charges of bias. They could no longer justify representing merely one political opinion when they had no competition and were actively seeking to reduce the number of competitors. In situations where the public had an active distrust of monopolies, newspapers devised justifications drawing on governmental and professional notions of public service to insulate themselves from criticism and from charges of merely serving their interests. In the era of reform they appropriated (and subscribed to) the widespread new public codes of public service as against any type of partisanship. Such occupational ethics secured a place for their particular function free from immediate suspicion by the populace.

Publishers no longer upheld the old, partisan justifications for a newspaper's freely expressed point of view in opposition to other viewpoints. Instead, to escape charges of bias, of illegitimate monopolization of the public sphere, newspapers had to avoid all evidence of partiality. In the nineteenth century newspapers possessed an explicit right to political speech. They had such rights both as adjunct to that popular political representative--the party--and as equal political citizens engaged in public dialogue. They were participating members of the public sphere. In the twentieth century, however, the press claims to be above the "wrangling" and conflict of the public-political sphere. Independent and unconnected to any fixed political point of view, the paper's news floats above political contention (Cf. Alexander, 1981: 23-39). It is not part of the swirl of opinions and partisan preferences. It no longer aspires to serve one particular segment of public opinion, and does not possess ties to any political organization in its advocacy of policies or in the pursuit of political power. If a journal adopts an active, evaluative, crusading voice, it is in the name of shared public interests of the entire community. Newspapers thus define themselves as not specifically part of the public sphere. They are above politics, social not political. In Jeffrey Alexander's analysis (1981), the media no longer "produce sharply divergent perspectives of public events." They avoid the self-conscious, explicit articulation of norms in conflict with other perspectives.[65] As bearers of political speech, they are a neutral medium of communication. Their words come from the lips of impartial technical experts or non-political representatives of the community's will.

Newspaper reformers such as Booth and his father-in-law Scripps or the later Walter Lippmann saw themselves as escaping from any social partiality. Typically, science, as a rhetoric and a dominant "cultural imaginary," was invoked to justify this vision of the news as monological and as free from social divisions and conflicts (Haber, 1964; Schudson, 1978: 71-6). Scripps, in his proposals for a penny paper, daydreamed about unbiased news and imagined editorials that would be only the product of expert views. In his "model one-cent paper":

> Popularity should be cultivated and personal assault avoided as far as possible. News matter should not be colored to favor any opinion. Entire impartiality and absolute correctness should govern the news columns. The single leading editorial should be by the work of one expert in the subject it deals with...[66]

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[65] Alexander applauds this state of media affairs. In his illuminating interpretation, the media's special social function is to provide normative integration by the weaving of daily events in to the flexible fabric of social norms. They, thus, expand the societal resources of social integration.

Alexander further writes that the differentiation of news from all political agencies and perspectives does not mean that a society will lack all substantive political debate. Rather, it is up to the political institutions, not the journalistic ones, to supply self-consciously opposed perspectives on the proper ordering of society. However, he paradoxically notes that for news to achieve its differentiated status, that is--for journalism to supply non-controversial, factual (and normative) descriptions of events, society must have a degree of depoliticized consensus. Society must not be polarized into sharply opposed political camps. (1981: 29-32, 35-7) Also see Hallin and Mancini, 1984: 849.

[66] James Scripps, "The Model One-Cent Paper," labeled "about 1897," James E. Scripps Letters, 1883-1897 (Cranbrook Archives.)

Booth too repeated this fantasy of conflict-free journalism, a news without any politics. As he proclaimed in one editorial, "...[T]he News will tell faithfully all that is true so that the public will know."[67] In his letter on the public ownership of newspapers, he wrote:

> In the first place the primary thing is the publication of news and it seems to me that it ought not to be difficult for a public institution running a newspaper to control the news. I assume that it is just as easy to find an honest editor drawing pay from the public to handle the news as that we can...find an honest judge or an honest city treasurer.[68]

The ethics of George Booth and his brothers were part of the Progressive era's political vision. In the early twentieth century at the height of the movement's power, newspaper publishers and reformers articulated a new vision of American politics and of the arena of public discussion. The polity would be purged of all private interests, hidden deals, and corrupt powers. Without the influence of party machines, city bosses, corporate graft, ethnic groups looking for governmental spoils and biased partisan papers, the citizenry could examine political issues openly and come to free agreement on policies reflecting the public good. A newly purified public opinion would function without the previous distortions, misrepresentations and manipulations. More specifically, with partisanship and corruption banished, the "intelligent and educated classes" could unite and guide public opinion to the right ideas (Haber, 1964: 101). This utopian project assumed the existence of an "underlying harmony of social interests" that would allow public opinion to achieve open and rational agreement. No deep and enduring social divisions, nor accumulations of social and economic power, prevented the triumph of persuasive, rational speech. In more bureaucratic-professional variants of this political project, politics would be transformed into technical decision-making under the province of experts and managers (Rogin, 1967: 197-8).

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[67] George Booth, "Again the Senatorship." George Booth papers, Editorials and Articles, 1903-1915, (Cranbrook Archives.)

[68] Letter, George G. Booth to Edmund W. Booth dated Nov. 9, 1914 (Cranbrook Archives.) And cf. Pound, 1964: 191.

This Progressive cultural vision joined with the new political situation after the 1896 election to help reconstruct the American political universe. The reformation of American newspapers from partisan to impartial and independent was part of this process. The journals responded to the decreased power of parties and the reformist ideology that attacked all partisan affiliation as blind or corrupt.

Newspapers' strategic rituals, designed to secure a measure of autonomy for the reporting of the news and to free the press from the ubiquitous contention of the public sphere, participated in this more general, ideological movement of society. Numerous historians have noted that the Progressive movement along with other political institutional changes of the early twentieth century encouraged a privatization of politics and a segmentation of society. Newspapers' claims of autonomy, of disinterested fulfillment of their special role, and of impartial technical expertise, paralleled the general social expansion of specialization and technical decision-making in American politics. The most prominent form of this privatization was the eclipse of parties. The expansion of such technical decision-making processes reduced "the scope of political conflict." It eliminated the open, contentious, collective deliberations of politics (Cf. Schattschneider, 1971: chs. 4-5; Sarfatti-Larson, 1977: ch. 9; Habermas, 1970: ch. 5; Hallin, 1985; Hays, 1964; Burnham, 1982: 175).

The Equivocality of "Public Interest"

What was the appropriate amount of crusading, muckraking and investigation of social evils and political wrongs for a newspaper? Nonpartisanship and the new journalistic ethics of public service were in fact flexible codes that could justify a range of paper politics. It could support expressions of opinion in the name of the public good or it could justify the exclusion of opinion as too strong a display of partiality. For example, Edmund Booth apologized to his father for omitting his editorial polemic from the pages of the paper:

> The "partisan" spirit is not in keeping with modern independent journalism and when I pointed out that you are the progenitor of a brood of independent journalists and therefore should have a care that your method of writing was in keeping with the spirit of independent journalism, I thought you would quickly catch the point and sympathize with it....[Y]our sons control the leading organs of publicity of a great state and at a time when there is likely to be sharp controversies over which there is likely to be much bitterness. I do think that for one of the family to get in the forefront of the fight, writing more drastically and sensationally than possibly any other anti-suffragist, that the relationship can become a delicate one. All I care about is that the real independence of these papers shall not be misjudged. I want the suffragists to feel that they will get a square deal with The [Grand Rapids] Press even though The Press should continue to criticize them as it has done in the past.[69]

In fact, the nonpartisan paper possessed only weak resources--symbolic and economic--for presenting its own interpretations in its daily pages. It had few justifications for pressing its own interpretations and selections against the representations of other competing political powers in the public sphere (Hallin and Mancini, 1985: 847-9; Alexander, 1981: 35-7). The independent press possessed only limited rights of speech--mainly when it asserted that its views represent the public against governmental or private powers. Of course, all journalistic selections of the news represent some social point of view, but the press attempted to camouflage these choices by its impartial, expert pose or its effaced narrative style. If a reporter's viewpoint stimulated significant social controversy, then it would be condemned as partisan.

Once the Progressive movement receded, journalistic exposes and advocacy likewise suffered a decline. The movement's passing meant that the newspaper would have to stand alone in advocating Progressive reforms. Journalistic politics could not be disguised as representing a widespread social viewpoint, nor would journals receive much support as the impartial representative of the public. In effect, the newspaper had no independent position from which to editorialize on its own or even to include in its pages views that might be considered too controversial.

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[69] Letter, Edmund W. Booth to Henry Booth, dated March 3, 1913 (Cranbrook Archives.)

The press' legitimation deficit was reinforced by its dependence on a mass market. To present controversial or suspect views would open the news media to challenge by other political actors, but also to the loss of disgusted customers. The newspapers' pursuit of a broad general readership, unsegmented by any political or social views, meant that its partisanship might alienate some share of its readership and, thus, threaten its economic fortunes. Furthermore, we may speculate that the technocratic ideology of the Progressive era (and journalistic professionals) did not recognize any particular value to public debate and to the inclusion of a broad array of views.

Even in opening its pages to public debate, even when in principle recognizing the plurality of political voices in the public sphere, the early twentieth century news media tended to reproduce the restriction of voices typical of the nineteenth century. As my research on the 1908 elections indicates, coverage was highly selective and stratified. Only those voices most sanctioned by formal political society and by the mechanisms of political representation gained sustained journalistic attention (Cf. Tuchman 172: 672-3; Sigal, 1986; Hallin, 1987: 71-2).

The Booths' policies of independence supported only limited advocacy by the paper. Indeed, in 1918 Booth suggested that advocacy was perhaps a journalistic anachronism. In an editorial he claimed that the introduction of primary elections had altered the political role of the press. In essence, he described an historical transition. Before the introduction of primaries, political parties did not reflect the popular will, but small cliques of politicians. Newspapers, to oppose the unfit candidates of the parties, were forced into "vigorous and extreme methods to try and keep these bad men out of office and coax...and argue in every tongue to secure the election of the best available men." Now, with the legislation of primaries, the political system had been opened. Newspapers no longer needed to engage in advocacy but merely open their columns and coffers to political advertising. "...[I]t has no candidates for which it must fight..." "...Public interest imposes upon any newspaper the obligation to stand largely neutral...[in political campaigns.]"[70]

In fact, from his first years in the publishing trade Booth consistently called for editorial policies that shunned controversy. According to Hereward Scott, business manager of the *News*, Booth advocated a lower profile, a less contentious political style for the Detroit paper (Pound, 1964: 150-1). In practical politics as well as in editorials the newspaper should adopt a statesman-like pose and keep itself above the fray. As Booth commented in his "Newspaper Creed":

> [The *News* under Dee] fought relentlessly against corruption in city affairs. It editorialized strongly and attacked even the religious life of the city. I felt the editorial policy wrong, and many people distrusted the paper although they continued to read it. Circulation was going down although advertising was beginning to increase...I believed greater money value would be created by winning the sincere goodwill of the people...by following a policy of sound public service and by belief in the general goodness of all people and their desire to build about them a home fine, true and lasting than by pursuing a more sensational course.[71]

In 1891, as business manager under Scripps, Booth had directed Dee to draft a code of journalistic ethics for the conduct of the paper. The key note of this code was avoiding libel and remaining decorous; the journal should not publicize the "private vices of persons," nor attack personal reputations, and it should refrain from all "private spite or malevolence." The *News'* standard partisanship was left unmentioned except to say that evaluative statements should be left for the editorial columns (Pound, 1964: 135). Then in 1892 or 1893, after a new libel suit was initiated against the paper, Dee was relieved of his position. Booth's role in this alteration of management is unclear.

In his letters Booth echoed this timeline of growing stability and maturity of the newspaper as it established its place in the market. Early youthful combativeness was useful for gaining publicity and an audience for the paper but, once established, sure profits were better guaranteed by a more mature posture. In 1910 Booth wrote:

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[70] George G. Booth, "Again the Senatorship" (Cranbrook Archives.)

[71] George G. Booth, "Newspaper Creed" (Unclear date of writing, typed Jan. 21, 1940.) (Cranbrook Archives.)

> I think there is something of truth...in the paragraph beginning "The paper would not be required to fight rough and tumble battles, etc." I do think there is a tendency on the part of our papers to enter too deeply into these local scraps. I think this one the of places where the judicial attitude of mind that I have contended for can be applied a little more strongly each year as time goes on.[72]

On the other hand, in 1907 Booth was still holding to his active reform-crusade posture under some conditions:

> It may be that [in Muskegon city] there are small political bosses and trixsters that have got to be exposed and opposed, and while inclined to follow a tactful and diplomatic course generally and not to arouse unnecessary opposition, if the situation requires it we must not hesitate to be a vigorous factor in local affairs.[73]

Pat Baker, longtime managing editor of the *Detroit News* (1889-1906), exemplified the traits Booth most disliked in the *News*. According to the memoirs of newsman Malcolm Bingay (1949), Baker was a political powerhouse in city politics. Baker arbitrated who received the Democratic party's local nominations and also the allocation of funds between different municipal government departments. Although ethically upright, Baker was frequently embroiled in local political controversies and personal battles.

In 1906, with the death of father-in-law James Scripps, Booth achieved full management power at the Detroit paper (Bow, 1989a :14). His rise resulted in conflicts with Baker over the paper's "news policy." Specifically, Booth tried to alter the paper's longtime strident advocacy of municipal ownership for the public transportation system.[74] Baker was kicked upstairs to become the General Manager of the *News*, "a title as empty as the sleeve of a one-armed paper hanger." Officially Baker lost all editorial control because of his failing eyesight, "but the real reason," reported city editor Bingay, "was that Baker's 'small-town' newspaper quarrels and petty dictatorship [in city politics] had to cease (Bingay, 1949: 157, 125)."

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[72] Letter, George G. Booth to Edmund W. Booth dated Oct. 31, 1910 (Cranbrook Archives.)

[73] Letter, George G. Booth to Edmund W. Booth dated July 30, 1907 (Cranbrook Archives.)

[74] Letter, Milton McRae to Edward Scripps, dated Sept. 19, 1906 (Cranbrook Archives) (Photocopy of letter from Edward W. Scripps Papers, Archives and Special Collection, Ohio University Library, Athens, Ohio.)

In Booth's editorial policies, journalistic impartiality and speaking for the community's interests soon became confused with a general "booming" of the merits of the city and a promotion of its economic welfare.[75] Booth learned from Edward Scripps' advice on avoiding partisanship in order to maximize business.[76] Without an independent, critical place to stand in the public sphere, the newspaper simply acceded to the dominant consensus, more specifically--to the views of the economic elite (Rogin, 1967: 201-3). Not possessing any significant social critique that might recognize the conflicting interests of the community or continuing concentrations of power, his editorial policies collapsed into the viewpoint of the large manufacturing interests of the town (Lasch, 1965: ch. 6). Booth believed that being a partisan in attacks or promoting social division should be replaced with a more neutral, judicious journalistic pose.

Conclusion

In the early twentieth century, Detroit newspapers ended their past partisan advocacy in their editorials and news. Competing theories have presented cultural, economic or professional explanations for this new independence and impartiality of the press. However, these explanations are mistaken in their characterization of when and why newspaper partisanship ended. Instead this paper elaborated a political explanation that situated journalism among the political institutions contending in the public-political sphere. In the twentieth century, the set of pressures and incentives on the press to market a partisan paper fundamentally changed. After the critical elections of 1894-1896, parties lost their overwhelming predominance in American politics. They no longer could claim the undying loyalty of the electorate and, in fact, large numbers of citizens simply stopped voting. In this context, newspapers dispensed with their past partisan practices. As journalists joined in the Progressive reform movement, they appropriated various Progressive cultural rationales to justify a new place in American public-political life for the press. The main strands of this new journalistic ethic were impartiality and public service. However, in this reconstruction of journalism's ideals the press lost much of its past legitimacy that had supported its forthright political advocacy. Under criticism or pressure, the new independent press conformed to the views of legitimate political authorities or the interests of the societal elites.

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[75] Most explicit on this subject is Letter, George G. Booth to Edmund W. Booth dated Jan. 19, 1910,(Cranbrook Archives) It discusses the coverage that should be given to booming the auto industry in Detroit and the furniture manufacturing in Grand Rapids. Also cf. Pound, 1964: 221. A common theme of Booth is the general community's development as a source of income for the newspaper. See, for example, Letter, George G. Booth to H Chalmers, dated Nov. 7, 1915 (Cranbrook Archives.)

Phyllis Kanis presents a strong argument that local news media had a bias towards economic growth in the city center (1991: 3, 19-23, 46, 52-9). For the sake of their own economic interests newspapers were boosters for general city development. Kanis historically situates this news bias as starting in the late nineteenth century and then ending sometime after the Second World War with the suburbanization of cities and press markets.

[76] Letter, Edward W. Scripps to George Booth dated Feb. 20, 1889 in George G. Booth Papers (Burton Historical Collection.)

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THOSE WHO WOULD NOT 'SIGH TO THE WIND':

THE MISSIONARY PRESS IN CHINA

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THOSE WHO WOULD NOT 'SIGH TO THE WIND': THE MISSIONARY PRESS IN CHINA

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ABSTRACT

The early Protestant missionaries to China brought with them the concept of Western journalism to the Chinese people. The missionaries were responsible for introducing the modern press to China. From 1815 to 1895 this missionary press, published mainly for the Chinese in the Chinese language, flourished. By the end of the eighteenth century the growing foreign commercial press and an indigenous Chinese press, following the example of missionary publications, emerged. This paper traces the missionary press in China from its beginning in 1807, when Robert Morrison, the first Protestant missionary to China, arrived in Macao, to the late 1890s as publishing competition and unrest in China brought an end to this fascinating period of journalism.

THOSE WHO WOULD NOT 'SIGH TO THE WIND':
THE MISSIONARY PRESS IN CHINA

It was not an easy trip.

At 4 p.m. on January 31, 1807, the ship *Remittance* left Gravesend, England for New York from its dock on the Thames River fifteen miles east of London, but by 8 p.m. that same day it anchored off the Downs in the English Channel because of poor weather. The *Remittance*, along with several other ships, remained anchored for nearly three weeks and waited for the violent winter gales to subside. On February 17, a murderous storm that seemed to be sent by the devil, wrecked such havoc that many ships were driven ashore, some were sunk, and only the *Remittance* was spared. It finally set sail for New York on February 26. After the usual brutal leg to Newfoundland, in which good time was made, it took another six weeks for the ship to reach New York by April 20, but not without first rescuing eleven people in early April from a sinking brig that had lost its mast. (1)

On May 12, one passenger from the *Remittance* , a shy twenty-five-year-old missionary named Robert Morrison, boarded the American ship *Trident* , which set sail for Macao via the long route back across the Atlantic, around the southern tip of Africa, through the Indian Ocean and around Malaya. Since the powerful British-owned East India Company did not approve of missionary work and, therefore, refused to let missionaries aboard its ships, Morrison was forced to take this indirect passage via America in order to reach China. (2)

On September 4, 1807 -- 113 days after leaving New York, and 217 days after Morrison left the cold gales of the English Channel -- the *Trident* docked in the steamy, humid Portuguese port of Macao. (3)

This speck of history, like the twitch of a sleeping dragon, seemed insignificant at the time. But just as a twitch represents the first awakening of the giant beast, so too did the arrival of Morrison, who was the first Protestant missionary to China (4), represent the eventual awakening of the Chinese people to modern journalism.

This paper is a study of that early missionary press in China.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE MISSIONARY PRESS

Although it is widely accepted by Sinologists that the early missionaries were responsible for introducing the modern press to China, the significance of the missionaries' contribution to the development of journalism in China has rarely been acknowledged by mass communication scholars. There are four explanations for this phenomenon.

First, it is difficult to obtain access to original documents, newspapers, and memoirs pertaining to this period. The majority of these documents are in archives in the People's Republic of China, Hong Kong and England. Sadly, many also have been lost or destroyed.

A second reason for the lack of academic research on this topic in mass communication, particularly by Western scholars, may reflect philosophies that the press and religion, as well as politics and religion, should be passionately guarded in separate ideological venues. The religious fervor and piety of early missionaries to China is clearlly evident in their newspapers and magazines, which were in part used as instruments for spreading theological teachings to the Chinese. (5) Therefore, to judge the historical significance of the missionary press by such Western values as freedom of speech, separation of church and state, and the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution is a mistake.

Third, the role of religion in many post-industrial societies has taken a lesser, more private role compared to its influence on society in the early nineteenth century. This also may help to explain the lack of interest by communication scholars in researching the missionary press.

Finally, since the Communists took political control of China in 1949 Sino scholars have concentrated much of their efforts on modern China. Nowhere is this more apparent than in mass communication scholarship, which has resulted in hundreds of articles published in journals and presented at conferences on topics related to the past fourty-five years in China, but in comparison very few on communication in the ancient (2200 B.C.-1700 A.D.), imperial (1700-1911), and republican (1911-1949) periods of Chinese history. Yet, China has one of the richest histories of written communication of any nation in time. This paper will only deal with the history of broadsheets and gazettes published in the beginning of the modern press era in China, from 1815 to 1895, when the missionary press flourished. It will not examine the pre-revoultionary reform press era (1895-1911), nor the press of the republican period (1912-1949), since nearly all the missionary periodicals ceased publication by 1895 due to growing competition from the foreign commercial press and indigenous Chinese-owned press, and due to growing unrest in China in the 1890s.

The purpose of this paper is to examine those early missionaries whose great intellect and brave efforts to publish newspapers and magazines changed the face of what is now the most populous nation on earth. It also examines the paradox of the missionary press -- that it introduced to China concepts such as freedom of speech, a public press written by the people for the people, and respect not only for the culture of the Chinese people but also for Western science. These were all at times anathemas to either Christianity or the role of mission work.

AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The Protestant missionaries who arrived in the ports of Macao, Canton and Shanghai in the early 1800s were not unique in two respects. First, they were not the first missionaries to travel to China. Second, they were not the first to publish periodicals or gazettes in China.

It is generally accepted among religious historians that the first missions to China were by the Nestorian Church as early as 505 A.D.

CHRONOLOGY OF DYNASTIES

Emperor Yao (Legendary)	3rd millennium B.C.		
Emperor Shun (Legendary)	3rd millennium B.C.		
Hsia (Three Dynasties)	2183-1752 B.C.?		
Shang (Three Dynasties)	1751-1112 B.C.	(or 1765-1112 B.C.)	
Chou (Three Dynasties)	1111- 249 B.C.	(or 1027- 249 B.C.)	
		Spring and Autumn	722-481 B.C.
		Warring States (480-)	403-222 B.C.
Ch'in (255 B.C.-)	221-206 B.C.		
Han	B.C. 206-220 A.D.	Western (Former) Han	B.C. 206- 8 A.D.
		Hsin	9- 23 A.D.
		Eastern (Later) Han	25-220 A.D.
Wei	220-265 A.D.	Three Kingdoms: Wei	220-265
		Three Kingdoms: Shu	221-263
		Three Kingdoms: Wu	222-280
Chin	265-420	Western Chin	265-317
		Eastern Chin	317-420
S. and N. Dynasties	420-589		
South		North	
Liu Sung	420-479	Later (North) Wei	386-535
Southern Ch'i	479-502	Eastern Wei	534-550
Liang	502-557	Western Wei	535-556
Ch'en	557-589	Northern Ch'i	550-577
		Northern Chou	557-581
Sui	581-618		
Tang	618-907		
Five Dynasties	907-960	Later Liang	907-923
		Later T'ang	923-936
		Later Chin	936-947
		Later Han	947-950
		Later Chou	951-960
Liao (907-)	947-1125		
Sung	960-1279	Northern Sung	960-1126
		Southern Sung	1127-1279
Hsi-hsia	990-1227		
Chin	1115-1234		
Yüan (Mongol) (1206-)	1271-1368		
Ming	1368-1644		
Ch'ing (Manchu)	1644-1912		
Republic	1912-		
People's Republic	1949-		

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Even after Emperor Wu Tsung, of the Tang dynasty, ordered in 845 A.D. the destruction of 4,600 Buddhist monasteries and the 300 foreign priests from the Tath-sin (Roman Empire) to a secular life, the Nestorian missionaries managed to survive. By the thirteenth century Marco Polo and the early Franciscan missionaries of the Roman Catholic Church wrote of the Nestorian missionaries. (6)

In addition, there were two waves of Roman Catholic missionaries to China. The first, beginning in 1246, established a mission in the court of Kublai Khan. Catholic missionaries continued their work in China during the Mongol rule (Yuan dynasty), but with the rise of the Ming dynasty in 1368 all Christian efforts in China ended. The second wave of Catholic missions, which coincided with the Renaissance in Europe, began when the Portuguese took Macao in 1560. The Catholic missions continued to grow in China through 1722, and then declined to 1809. (7)

The Protestant missionaries of the early 1800s also were not the first people to write and produce news publications in China. It is debated between historians of ancient Rome and historians of ancient China as to which region produced the first gazettes, but most agree that the earliest forms of periodicals in the world were found in these two regions. In China the written press dates back to the Spring and Autumn Annals of the eighth century B.C. These were written for the emperor by court officials, who went through the countryside and collected news every spring and fall. (8)

More well known is the beginning of the official press in China, which dates back to the Later Han dynasty (25-220 A.D.) when reports of the activities of the emperor's court were issued on sheets of paper. These eventually developed into what Western scholars refer to as the Peking gazettes (see Photo 1), which were printed from the Sung dynasty (960-1279) through the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). (9) The Peking gazettes were first printed only in Peking, but by the Ming dynasty similar provincial gazettes, which were less formal than the Peking gazettes, were being printed and distributed in the capitals of the provinces.

These gazettes were different from Western newspapers in many respects, but overall they were a reflection of the Confucian dominance in imperial Chinese society. This philosophy stressed the importance of learning and bureaucracy, as well as the importance of a scholar-bureaucrat class in society. They served as a publicity organ for the imperial court and as an educational organ for the all-important scholar-bureaucrats. Unlike the Western press, the purpose of the Peking gazettes was not to educate the masses, but rather to serve the needs of the court and the educated elites who ran the business of the country. British scholar Roswell Britton explained the tenets of Confucian society which influenced the indigenous press:

> The culture which shaped the gazette press was a familial culture, ethically ordered. The pursuit of contentment was by means of regulating human relationships and avoiding physical distress. The aim was harmony with nature, not control of nature, and implied a great sociology but no physical science. (10)

The missionaries' ability to understand the importance of relationships and their order, as well as the Taoist influence of

PHOTO 1

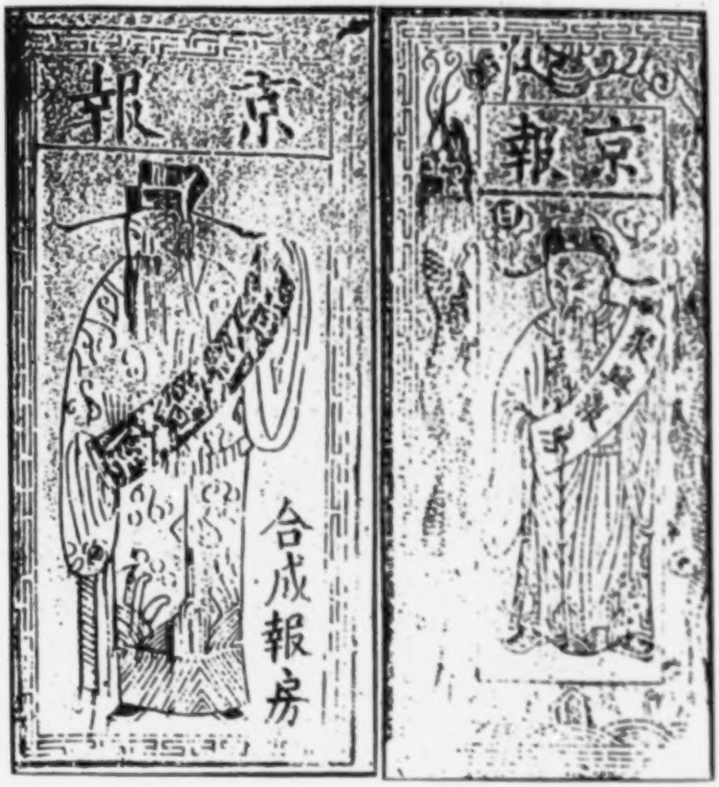

PLATE 1. Cover decorations of *Ching Pao*, Peking Gazettes, published by the *Ho-ch'eng Pao-fang* and *Chü-hsing Pao-fang*. Format 23×10 cm. *British Museum.*

From Roswell S. Britton's The Chinese Periodical Press, 1800-1912 (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, Limited, 1937).

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harmony with nature, and the familial underpinnings of Chinese society were key reasons for the success of introducing modern journalism in China.

Beyond this understanding of Chinese culture, the missionary press is unique, according to historians, because it introduced the modern press to China. The term "modern press" is aptly defined by Lin Yutang in his book A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China (italics added):

> The so-called modern press, *edited and published for the benefit of the general public*, had its origin in the beginning of the nineteenth century and was largely developed through the efforts of the early missionaries in China. (10)

The concept of a democratic and free press that served the masses, rather than the court and educated ruling class, is what made the missionary press different from the journals and gazettes that preceded it. With this Western approach to journalism many ideas, particularly Western science and technology, were able to be introduced to the Chinese. Roswell elaborates on this point:

> The journalism of the West; the technical, commercial and financial press, and the notion of free political discussion, all corollary to the Baconian philosophy, were ushered with it into China. . . .Periodicals in the Chinese language were published by the missionaries, and later by some foreign governments, in the interest of their cause. Western journalism was thus exhibited to the Chinese. And in the course of

> the latter half of the [nineteenth] century, adjustments and reforms began to make new conditions which implied a new Chinese press. (11)

While the earlier Catholic missionaries had printed books and some papers, they never attempted to publish newspapers or magazines for fear it would destroy their tenuous relationship with the Chinese.

Several events in the latter half of the eighteenth century resulted in a growing attitude of Chinese anti-foreignism that greeted Morrison and the missionary journalists who followed him.

In 1762 an internal census conducted by the government determined the population of China to be 200 million. Eleven years later there was a revolt--that was indirectly related to the poulation increase--by the White Lotus sect, a branch of deviant Buddhism, against the government of Emperor Qian Long. Similar rebellions arose across the country as a result of economic and social unease over the increased population, which caused the value of land to increase and created a class of homeless and landless peasants. To make matters worse, in 1791 a military expedition was sent by the emperor to Nepal and the subsequent military takeover represented the last act of expansionism under the Qing dynasty. This expedition exhausted the remaining economic resources of China. By 1796 the first Western embassy, from England, arrived in Peking. Finally, in 1799, a scandal in the court of Jia Qing, who took the throne when his father Qian Long died that same year, revealed serious corruption in the administration. (12)

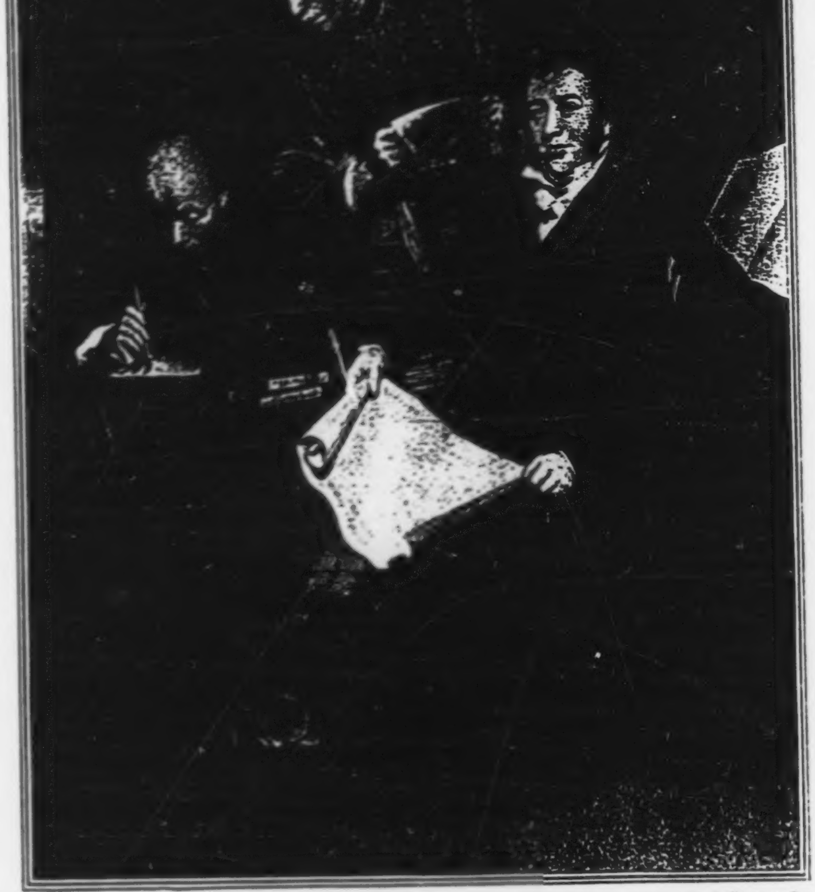
This general unraveling of the economic, social and dynastic system was one reason for an increase in anti-foreignism by the early 1800s. However, China also was experiencing an increase in unwanted foreign traders, who initially were not seen as a threat, but slowly were recognized as bringing unwanted foreign ideas and social trends to the historically insular Chinese nation. By the end of the 1700s these events contributed to the Chinese becoming very distrustful of the Catholic missions and, subsequently, outlawing alien missionary activity. (13) It was also prohibited under penalty of death for a Chinese citizen to teach Chinese to a foreigner. (14) At the same time the Roman Catholics jealously guarded their stronghold on missionary activities in China through their network headquarters in Macao.

It was under these extremely hostile conditions that Robert Morrison arrived in Macao in 1807.

ROBERT MORRISON AND WILLIAM MILNE: THE PRESS PIONEERS

On the evening of September 4, 1807, when the *Trident* anchored in Macao, Morrison was given a fond farewell by the crew of the *Trident* whom he had preached to regularly on the long voyage. As the thick Macao air clung to his lungs he met with Sir George Staunton, the senior British representative there. Sir Staunton quickly warned Morrison, a Presbyterian minister, that it would be impossible for him to stay in Macao because of the opposition by the Catholic missionaries to any other missions in China. He also told him that the powerful East India Company, which dominated trade in the region, forbid any

PHOTO 2



From a painting *by J. Chinnery, Esq.*

ROBERT MORRISON, D.D.

Robert Morrison, D.D., born in Northumberland 1782; reached China *via* America 1807; settled at Canton; first and only furlough 1824; died in Canton 1834. Compiled first English and Chinese Dictionary, English and Chinese Grammar, and with his colleague Milne, translated the whole Bible. Practically alone all his missionary career. Engaged as Interpreter for East India Company, was thereby self-supporting. Connected with L.M.S. The founder of Protestant Missions in China. *Frontispiece.*

From The Chinese Empire, A General & Missionary Survey
Marshall Broomhall, ed. (London: MOrgan & Scott, 1907).

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British citizens other than their own employees, to live in Canton. Undaunted, Morrison met with the American Consul, who made arrangements for him to live in Canton in an American residence, but only if he pretended to be a U.S. citizen. (15)

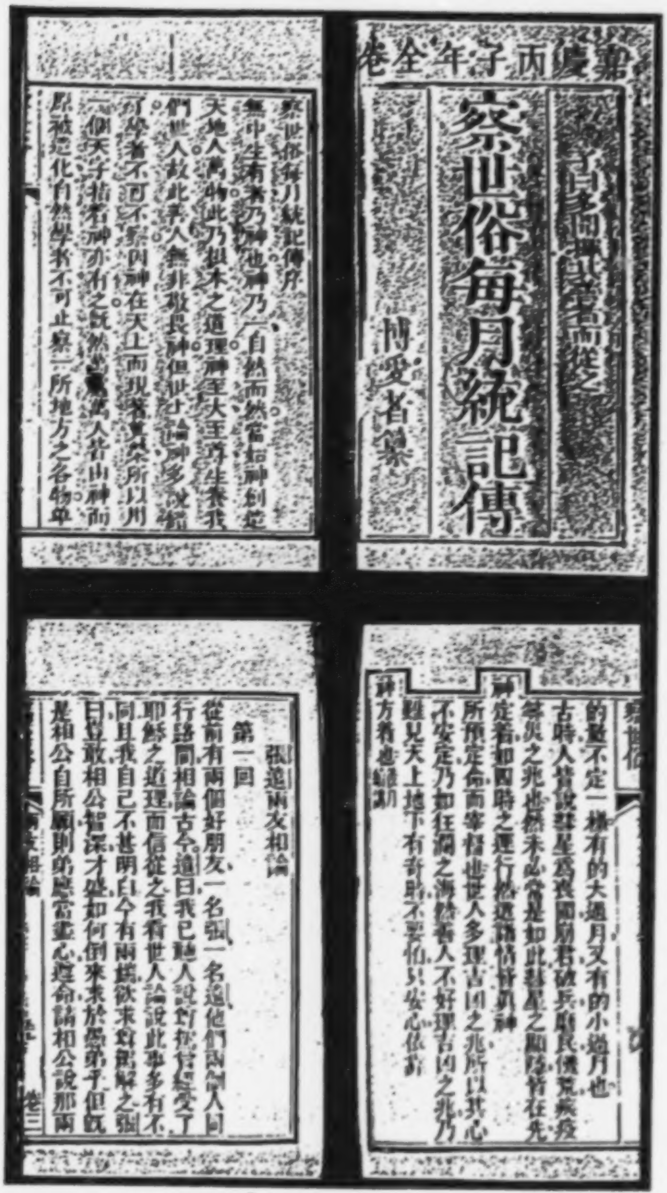
Within the next few years Morrison would further prove his tenacity and cleverness by overcoming many more such obstacles. Fortunately, while preparing for the ministry in Scotland he had already learned to read and write Chinese fluently. Like many of the early missionaries, he was also well educated in both the arts and sciences. But by the end of 1807 he felt he was burdening his American hosts, so he attempted to live as a Cantonese. To do so he moved to new quarters, associated only with Chinese, dressed in long gowns, grew a pigtail, ate only Chinese food, and stopped trimming his nails. Within months this lifestyle was seriously affecting his health, and he decided to move to Macao. This anecdote is typical of the desperate and often life-threatening survival schemes concocted by the early missionaries who went on to become journalists. (16)

Morrison, who was sent to China by the London Missionary Society, was as much a writer and scholar as he was a man of God. By 1810 he had translated the first sections of the Bible into Chinese and had 1,000 copies printed in Canton. This printing success would lead to his prolific career as the first Western journalist in China. In the next year he had translated, printed and distributed more sections of the Bible, as well as written a comprehensive book on Chinese grammar. It also was in 1812 that the London Missionary Society sent William Milne to help Morrison in his efforts. In the next two years Morrison's genius and speed in translations, but most importantly his completion of the first Chinese dictionary, convinced the profit-minded East India Company to publish the dictionary in Macao. To do so they shipped from England a printing press and a mechanic to supervise it, P. P. Thomas. (17)

By the spring of 1815 it was clear that further publishing in Canton was dangerous. The Chinese court became aware of the significance of Morrison's translated works and ordered him to burn his wood printing blocks that had been used for books already printed. Under these conditions that Morrison and Milne decided it would be better to set up their printing operations outside of China. Morrison was also in the process of establishing his famous Anglo-Chinese College in Malacca at that time. The purpose of the college according to its mission statement was to provide "reciprocal cultivation of Chinese and European literature." (18) So in early 1815 Morrison and Milne set out to move the printing operations from Canton to the Anglo-Chinese College in Malacca. Morrison remained in China while Milne moved the press, Thomas, and some trained Chinese printers. Also joining the entourage was Morrison's first convert and trusted aide, Liang A-Fa, the first Chinese Christian pastor. (19) It was in Malacca, on August 6, 1815, that the first edition of the *Chinese Monthly Magazine* (see Photo 3), the first Chinese monthly to be published in the Chinese language, was jointly edited by Milne and Morrison. (20) Milne naturally became the on-site editor of this landmark publication, while Morrison provided long-distance guidance.

For the initial editions of the magazine there was no market so Milne had Liang A-Fa deliver the copies to Morrision, where they

PHOTO 3



嘉慶丙子年全卷

察世俗每月統記傳

博愛者纂

PLATE 12. *Ch'a-shih-su Mei-yueh T'ung-chi-ch'uan*, published by William Milne at Malacca. Above: Title page and prefatory article, 1st issue, August, 1815. Below: pages in 3rd volume, showing end of article on Comets in series on Astronomy, and 1st instalment of serial publication of Milne's noted tract "The Two Friends." Format 19×12 cm. *British Museum.*

From Roswell S. Britton's The Chinese Periodical Press, 1800-1912 (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, Limited, 1937).

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were distributed by A-Fa and Morrison at no cost to the Chinese scholars taking the provincial civil service examinations in Canton. The magazine, which was in publication until 1821, eventually had a circulation of 2,000 and was distributed not only in China, but also to the Chinese overseas merchants in Siam (now Thailand), Annam (now Vietnam), and the Malay peninsula. (21) Over the magazine's six and a half years of publication it averaged fourteen pages per issue, and there were at least 25,860 reprint copies made of back issues. (22)

The editorial style of this magazine represented the depth of understanding and knowledge Morrison and Milne had of the Chinese culture. After all, Morrison had been living in China for nearly ten years and in that time his mastery of the Chinese language had gained the respect of the imperial court even though the emperor feared the power of Morrison's press. So great was this respect, he had even served as an official translator for the court. Morrison also had gained the respect of the powerful foreign merchants, particularly the East India Company. Milne, too, was learning to think like the Chinese and was known as one of the foremost Sinologues in the region.

In the first edition of the *Chinese Monthly Magazine* Milne took the editorial name of Po Ai Che, meaning "one who loves many" and a term that eventually was adopted in the Chinese language as meaning "philanthropist." Also in the first edition, the magazine was described as "a general monthly record, containing an investigation of the opinions and practices of society." By the December 1815 edition the first solicitation for subscribers was issued, but also in a uniquely Chinese fashion. A invitation was issued to any Chinese who wanted the magazine to call or write Yu Ti Mi Lien, which was Chinese for "your humble brother Milne." (23)

Milne had brilliantly pieced together two passages from the Confucian *Analects* for a statement on the front cover of the magazine that set its philosophical tone. The magazine cover read:

> The Master said: Hear much; choose the good, and emulate it. (24)

The two Confucian passages read:

> The Master said: Hear much; discard the doubtful, and be cautious in repeating the rest; then you seldom will incur blame.
> (*Analects*, II, xviii)

> The Master said: Of a company of three, there must be one who can instruct me. I discriminate their good qualities to emulate, their bad to shun.
> (*Analects*, VII, xxi)

In his 1820 book *A Retrospect of the First Ten Years of the Protestant Mission to China*, Milne explained that promoting Christianity was the main mission of the *Chinese Monthly Magazine*, but "knowledge and science are the hand-maids of religion, and may become the auxiliaries of virtue." (25) He was critical of his efforts with the magazine and acknowledged the behemoth task "to rouse the dormant powers of a people" and educate them not only about

Christianity, but also the science and technology of the West. (26) Milne summed up the significance of the magazine by stating:

> But a beginning must be made by some people, and in some age of the world. After generations will improve on what the present race of men begin. It is better therefore to commence a good work with very feeble means and imperfect agents than to 'sigh to the wind,' and not attempt it at all. (26)

One of the most famous regular features in the *Chinese Monthly Magazine* was a series of evangelistic discussions arranged around a conversation between two friends. The feature was called "The Conversations of the Two Friends Chuang and Yuan," and fifty years after the last issue of the magazine these "conversations" were still being reprinted in other magazines and newspapers in China. (27)

This landmark magazine -- which through its brilliant blending of traditional Chinese philosophy and culture with the concepts of Western journalism, science and religion opened the door to modern journalism in China -- ceased publication when Milne's health failed shortly before he died in 1821 at the age of thirty-seven. (28) But the die was cast and other missionary publications were already in the works.

From 1817 to 1821 Milne also published a quarterly English language journal called the *Indo-Chinese Gleaner*. It was financed jointly by Morrison and Milne and was designed to spread news of missionary work, as well as to serve as a critical journal of Sinology.

Following the death of Milne, Morrison attempted to begin a weekly newspaper in Malacca, and in March 1823 he published one edition of a single-sheet newspaper titled in Chinese *The Chinese Moveable Type Press.* It is not clear why this publishing cause failed, however, ten years later in Macao he published a weekly newspaper called *Miscellany.* Only three four-page editions and 20,000 copies of *Miscellany* were printed before the governor of Macao, acting on orders from the Catholic Vicar-General, ordered the newspaper to stop printing. Also in 1833, Morrison published four editions of his weekly magazine *The Evangelist and Miscellanea Sinica,* included excerpts from Chinese works with the Chinese text beside the English translation. The magazine was designed to serve the Protestant part of the foreign community in China.(28)

It was Morrison's last attempt to publish a newspaper or magazine. Instead he turned his intellectual and spiritual efforts to the Anglo-Chinese College, writing books, translating numerous manuscripts, and eventually being appointed by the King of England as Chinese Secretary and Interpreter, even though he became too ill to serve the king in this capacity. Morrison died in Canton in 1834 and was buried next to his wife and infant son in Macao with the highest honors by the Chinese and Portuguese, who initially refused him entry into China. (29)

THE NEXT WAVE OF MISSIONARY PERIODICALS

The most active of these early missionary journalists, who was involved with numerous newspapers and magazines, was Walter Henry Medhurst. He came to Malacca in 1817 to expand the Ultra-Ganges Christian mission. He initially worked with Milne and wrote a series of geographic articles for the *Chinese Monthly Magazine.* In 1823 he moved to Batavia, a former Dutch colony on the island of Java established in 1613, where he published a Chinese monthly magazine *A Monthly Record of Important Selections.* This magazine, which was published from 1823-26 and was modeled after the *Chinese Monthly Magazine* , adopted elements of Chinese culture with Western-style articles on science, history, current events, and religion. (30)

Medhurst followed Milne in adopting a Chinese editorial name. He called himself Shang Te Che, which means "one who adores virtue." (31) Virtue is a key point in the writings of several ancient Chinese philosophers. Similar to the *Chinese Monthly Magazine,* Medhurst used a direct quote from the Confucian *Analects* to grace his magazine's cover. It read:

> The Master said: They simply uttered each his own aspirations. (*Analects,* XI, xxv) (32)

A Monthly Record of Important Selections differed from Milne's magazine. While Medhurst denounced Chinese idolatry and superstition in his articles, less emphasis was placed on explaining the Gospels and more emphasis was given to articles of a non-religious nature. In the three years the magazine was published its average circulation was 1,000 copies a month, and a total of 83,000 issues were printed. (32) Medhurst also published two other newspapers in Chinese that were not as successful: the *News of All Nations* (See Photo 4), which was published in 1838 at Canton, and the *Universal Gazette.*, which was published for one year (1828-29) in Malacca.

In 1833 the first periodical published in China was founded and edited by Karl Freidrich August Gutzlaff, a Prussian missionary with the Netherlands Society who first went to Java and then to Siam. It was in Siam that Gutzlaff became a naturalized Chinese and was adopted by a family of Chinese emigrants from Fukien (33). His magazine, the *Eastern-Western Monthly Magazine* (See Photo 5), which was published in Chinese until 1837, went a step further than the missionary periodicals that preceded it because it successfully stirred the respect and interest of the Chinese in the various branches of Western natural science. While the other publications had articles of a scientific nature, Gutzlaff's magazine had less religious overtones and more in-depth descriptions of the topics.

One of the most important roles of the missionary press in China was to introduce and disseminate information about Western astronomy, geography, physiology and natural science to the Chinese and the *Eastern-Western Monthly Magazine* was one of the best at doing this. Because of Gutzlaff's naturalized status he was able to publish his magazine in China at Canton.

Gutzlaff's respect among the Chinese also allowed him to be more candid in his writings. Surprisingly, his dual status as a

PHOTO 4

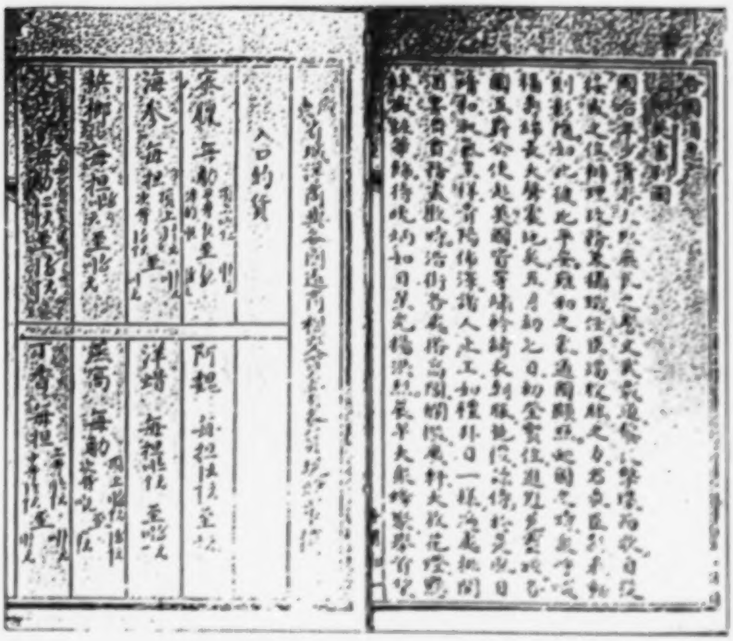

PLATE 15. *Ko-kuo Hsiao-hsi*, News of All Lands (NATIONS), published by Medhurst and Hillier at Canton; issue for November, 1838. News section beginning with news from England, and the Price Current beginning with quotations on imported commodities. Format 23 × 14 cm. *British Museum.*

From Roswell S. Britton's The Chinese Periodical Press, 1800-1912 (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, Limited, 1937).

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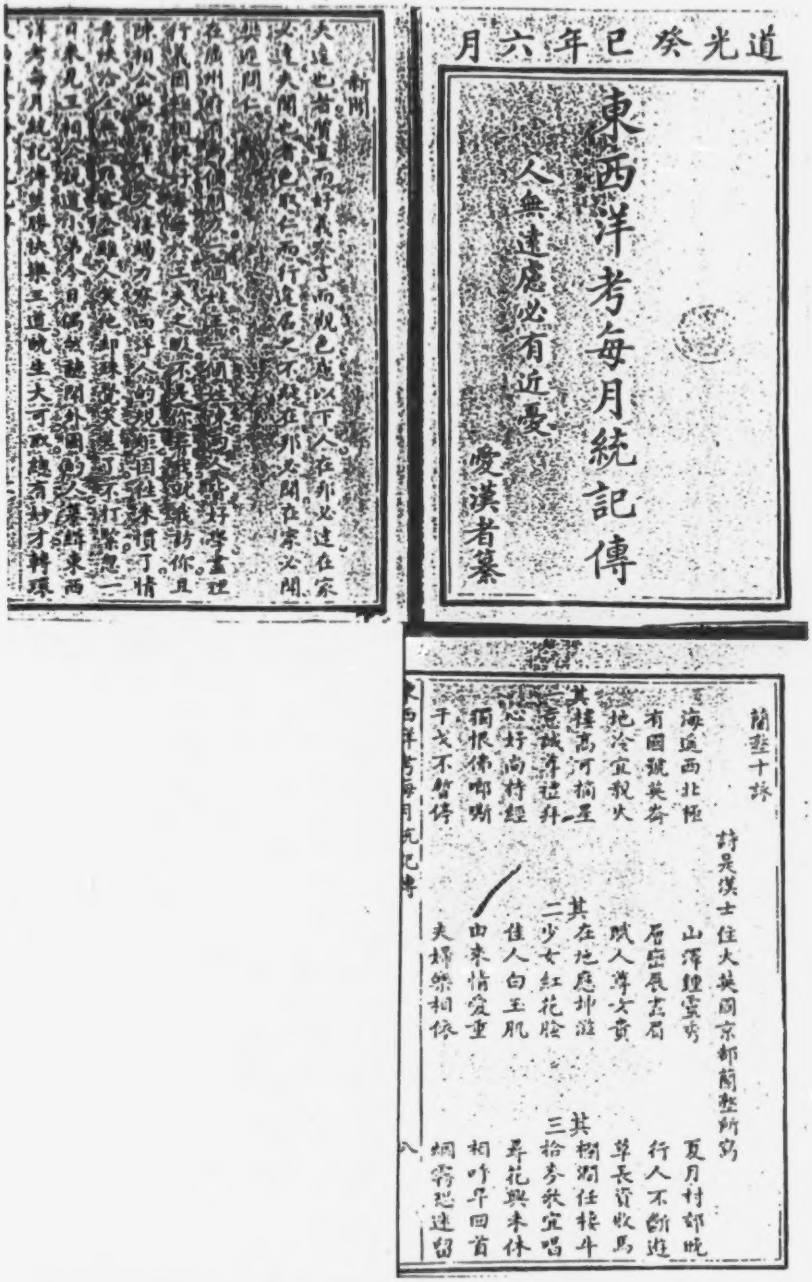

道光癸巳年六月

東西洋考每月統記傳

人無遠慮必有近憂

愛漢者纂

PLATE 14. *Tung-hsi-yang-k'ao Mei-yueh T'ung-chi-ch'uan*, published by Charles Gutzlaff at Canton. Above: 1st issue, July, 1833, title page and news section. Below: 6th issue, Stanzas on London, represented as the composition of a Chinese scholar residing in London. Format 25×15 cm. *British Museum.*

Three pages from the Eastern-Western Monthly Magazine.

From Roswell S. Britton's The Chinese Periodical Press, 1800-1912 (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, Limited, 1937).

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Westerner with Chinese citizenship afforded him the luxury of writing from both perspectives. This was evident in his bold explanation of the magazine's purpose, which ran in the premiere edition of June 23, 1833, and was accepted by his Chinese readers as not being offensive. The prospectus read:

> While civilization is making rapid progress over ignorance and error in almost all other portions of the globe – even the bigoted Hindoos [sic.] having commenced the publication of several periodicals in their own languages -- the Chinese alone remain stationary, as they have been for ages past. Notwithstanding our long intercourse with them, they still profess to be first among the nations of the earth, and regard all others as 'Barbarians.' . . . This monthly periodical . . . is published with a view to counteract these high and exclusive notions by making the Chinese acquainted with our arts, sciences, and principles. (34)

Like the editors of previous missionary periodicals, Gutzlaff also adopted a Chinese pen name: Ai Han Che, which means "one who loves the Chinese." He also used a Confucian quote on the cover of the magazine which read:

> He who gives no thought to remote matters
> will encounter grief near him. (*Analects* XV, xi) (35)

Based on the positive reception his magazine was receiving, Gutzlaff in 1834 formed the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in China in Canton. His partner in this project was another missionary, named James Matheson. The society had grand ideas of translating and publishing numerous books on Western knowledge, except on the controversial topics of politics and religion, but it soon ran into the usual roadblocks of censorship by Chinese government officials. Finally, on the eve of the first Anglo-Chinese War (1838-1842), both the society and the magazine folded. (35)

Another important pioneer of the missionary press in China was James Legge, a Presbyterian missionary who sailed from Scotland to Malacca in 1839 to become the Principal of Morrison's Anglo-Chinese College. He had already established a reputation as a scholar. In Malacca he continued that reputation by translating numerous volumes of classical Chinese literature. Unlike many of the other missionary press pioneers, who lived out their lives in the Orient, Legge eventually returned to England and was a professor of Chinese at Oxford College. (36)

From 1853 to 1856 Legge helped Medhurst and the English trader Batten Hillier edit a monthly newsmagazine in Chinese called the *Chinese Serial.* (37) It represented a further movement away from religious messages in the missionary press and towards a broader news approach.

In 1847, nearly a decade after Legge's arrival in Malacca, another missionary who greatly contributed to the development of the press in China arrived in Shanghai. Alexander Wylie was an employee of the British and Foreign Bible Society and was given charge of the press of the London Missionary Society. In the thirty years that he lived in China he mastered not only the Mandarin Chinese dialect, but also the Mongolian and Manchu dialects, which is the equivalent of learning three languages. Under Wylie's direction the London Missionary Society established a press operation in Shanghai, which was in addition to its original printing headquarters which were moved from Malacca to Hong Kong in the 1850s. (38)

In 1857 Wylie established a scientific magazine, published in Chinese, called the *Shanghae Serial.* (39) While this magazine had a life of less than twelve issues, it was well liked by Chinese readers and furthered their interest in Western scientific issues. Like the numerous missionary publications that preceded it, the *Shanghae Serial* drew the attention of the Chinese by capitalizing on their curiosity in Western science. As historian Lin Yutang explained, "Like the Christian hospital, western science was the trump card of these Christian missions, and it was also the kind of thing that most interested the progressive-minded Chinese readers." (40)

The forward to Wylie's first edition of *Shanghae Serial* outlined the delicate mix of traditional Chinese culture and Western scientific philosophies that was presented in many of the missionary periodicals. It read:

> This magazine will contain articles on astronomy, mathematics, geography and events happening in the country. There are plenty of Chinese books which contain a great amount of learning, but they are reports on past events. We all like to turn the pages of the Six Classics, the Ancient Philosophers and the Three Encyclopedias, thus profiting from lessons of history. It is up to us to discover new ideas from the old materials and, forsaking the old theories, invent new methods, by the steady application of industry. (41)

The missionaries, by living among the Chinese and learning their language as well as studying their customs were able to slowly introduce Western ideas while gradually chipping away at the norms of Chinese society. By the time of Wylie's magazine, published in 1857, earlier press pioneers such as Medhurst and Gutzlaff had already broken intellectual ground with the Chinese by initially challenging their cultural standards and beliefs.

From the 1850s until the end of the 1890s numerous other missionary newspapers and magazines were published, with some written in Chinese and others in English. Beginning in 1827, when a wealthy Philadelphian named W.W. Wood published the English language, bi-weekly newspaper *The Canton Press* , British and American foreigners in China who were not missionaries also began to publish periodicals. Unlike the missionary press, most of the commercially-funded foreign publications were written in English for the foreign communities in China, Macao and Hong Kong.

At this same time there continued to be numerous efforts by missionaries to publish journals of general interest in Chinese. However, from 1858 through the end of the century there was also a growth in Chinese-language editions of established daily newspapers, which is discussed in more detail in the next section of this paper. By the end of the Sino-Japanese War in 1895 a new era of revolutionary reform, and with it a revolutionary indigenous Chinese press, had begun. At the same time, by the end of the century the need for the missionary press had subsided as restrictions on inland missions to China were lifted and a generally positive attitude towards the missionaries prevailed among Chinese leaders.

THE CHINESE DEMAND FOR NEWSPAPERS IS BORN

In 1858 the first Chinese issue of a daily newspaper, the *China Mail,* was published in Hong Kong. (41) This was a direct response to the missionary press and its introduction of Western journalism to the Chinese. In 1862 a Chinese edition of the English-language *North-China Daily News* was published in Shanghai, and by 1864 a Chinese edition of the *Hong Kong Daily Press* was created.

Finally the major jump to Western-style journalism for a Chinese audience had begun among the independent publishers in Hong Kong, Canton and Shanghai. Much of the credit for the demand by the Chinese to read Western-style daily news, written for the people by the people, can be credited to the efforts of the missionary press.

By 1895 all of the major newspapers in Hong Kong, Canton and Shanghai had Chinese editions. The first Chinese-owned daily newspaper was published in 1873 in Hankow, but it folded within the year because of financial problems. (43) Two other Chinese-owned newspapers were established in Canton in 1874. After the Sino-Japanese War in 1895, there was a revolutionary shift in the growth of indigenous newspapers throughout China. Consequently, in the first half of the twentieth century scores of Chinese established newspapers and magazines written for the people and by the people.

CONCLUSION

With the arrival of Morrison in Macao in 1807 the era of modern journalism soon began in China because of the missionary press. While the writers and editors of the many missionary periodicals were devout in their religious beliefs, they also were open-minded to learning the language and culture of the Chinese. As Chinese historian Yutang explained, "The history of the missionary press included among its pioneers an illustrious list of foreign sinologues, scholars who had enough insight to see that besides giving the Chinese people a foreign religion, or rather as a basis for this work, they had to try to understand the Chinese civilization themselves." (43)

These missionary journalists of the early 1800s were able to introduce considerable knowledge beyond religious teachings to the Chinese, particularly in the areas of science and technology. To do this they had to become scholars, and they also had to leave the comforts of their native land and their families to endure immense hardships in a foreign land. Ultimately, one of their greatest gifts to the Chinese people was becoming the first foreigners to publish news in the Chinese language. As Yutang described, this was not an easy task:

> The hardships of early missionary work could have attracted only very energetic and imaginative minds. The great difficulty of study of sinology may be compared to a process of prolonged and artful suicide, and a man who had the courage to

> undertake that insane task in those days might
> be expected also to have the necessary superhuman
> energy to carry it through. (44)

Today China has the largest population of any nation on earth. That population represents a nation of avid newspaper and magazine readers. It seems appropriate for mass communication scholars to preserve the journalism history of this fast-changing society and rich culture by studying the origins of the modern press in China that was started by Western missionaries.

NOTES

1. Lindsay Ride, Robert Morrison, The Scholar and the Man (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 1957), p. 4.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid., 5.

4. Marshall Broomhall, ed., The Chinese Empire, A General & Missionary Survey (London: Morgan & Scott, 1907), pp. 11-12.

5. The first organs of the missionary press reflected more religious fervor than the periodicals published published after the Chinese curiousity about Western science and nature was stirred. Certain magazines, such as the *Eastern-Western Monthly Magazine* and the *Chinese Serial* actually had very few references to religious teachings.

6. Broomhall, ed., The Chinese Empire, A General & Missionary Survey, p. 5.

7. Ibid., pp. 6-7.

8. Lin Yutang, A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China (Shanghai: Kelly and Walsh, Limited, 1937), pp. 11-13.

9. Roswell S. Britton, The Chinese Periodical Press, 1800-1912 (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, Limited, 1923) p. 1.

10. Yutang, A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China, p. 78.

11. Britton, The Chinese Periodical Press, 1800-1912, p. 17.

12. Keith Buchanan, Charles P. FitzGerald, and Colin A. Ronan China, the History, the Art, and the Science (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1981), p. 508.

13. Ride, Robert Morrison, The Scholar and the Man, p. 5.

NOTES (continued)

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid., pp. 5-7.

16. Ibid., p. 10.

17. Ibid., 13.

18. See Britton, The Chinese Periodic Press, 1800-1912, pp. 17-18; and Yutang, A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China, pp. 80-81.

19. Britton, The Chinese Periodic Press, 1800-1912, p. 17; and Yutang, A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China, p. 81.

20. Ibid.

21. Yutang, The History of the Press and Public Opinion in China, p. 81.

22. Britton, The Chinese Periodic Press, 1800-1912, p. 18.

23. Ibid.

24. Ibid.

25. Ibid. p. 20.

26. Yutang, The History of the Press and Public Opinion in China, p. 82.

27. Britton, The Chinese Periodic Press, 1800-1912, p. 20.

28. Ibid., p. 22.

29. See Broomhall, A General & Missionary Survey, pp. 378-379; and Ride, Robert Morrison, The Scholar and the Man, pp. 34-40.

30. Britton, The Chinese Periodic Press, 1800-1912, pp. 21-22.

NOTES (continued)

31. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

32. *Ibid.*

33. See Yutang, *A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China*, pp. 84-86; and Britton, *The Chinese Periodic Press, 1800-1912*, pp. 22-24.

34. Britton, *The Chinese Periodic Press, 1800-1912*, pp. 22-23.

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

36. Kenneth S. Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China* (New York: The McMillian Company, 1929), p. 246.

37. Yutang, *A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China*, p.89

38. Latourette, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, p. 265.

39. Yutang, *A History of Christian Missions in China*, p. 84.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 85.

41. *Ibid.*, pp. 85-86.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 83.

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Against the Grain:
Published Humor in Wartime France

By Ross F. Collins
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Against the Grain:
Published Humor in Wartime France

War doesn't seem very funny. During World War I, a serious-minded critic lamented, "War is hell. Anything which tends to obscure the truth is a deadly evil."[1]

Surprisingly, though, this critic of wartime humor in the media as well as on the street seems to be in a minority of one. Sorting through the huge bibliography of humor studies,[2] a media historian found that the tiny number of authors who have talked about joking in the press and generally during wartime[3] have almost universally considered it a positive influence. Responding to Begbie's criticism during World War I, a writer returned fire a week later, saying not only does the world need humor during the war, it needs more of it, noting that death is part of life, war or not.[4] Other writers declared that jokes were necessary to maintain sanity, both among soldiers and civilians.[5]

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[1] Harold Begbie, "A Plea for Less War Humor," The Living Age (Nov. 17, 1917): 442.

[2] Don L. F. Nilsen, Humor Scholarship. A Research Bibliography (Eastport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1993). Nilsen points out in his voluminous work that "humor is truly an emerging field of scholarship." (xi.) But examination of humor dates back to antiquity, attracting some of the greatest minds in history. Plato and Aristotle examined laughter. Joyce O. Hertzler, Laughter. A Socio-Scientific Analysis (New York: Exposition Press, 1970), 7; Norman M. Holland, Laughing. A Psychology of Humor (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982), 16. In more recent times, Hobbes, Hazlitt, Freud, Bergson and Baudelaire wrote well-known psychological and philosophical examinations of humor. Willie Smyth, "Challenger Jokes and the Humor of Disaster," Western Folklore, 5 (October 1986): 251; Paul Gifford, "Humour and the French Mind: Towards a Reciprocal Definition," The Modern Language Review, 76 (July 1981): 540. S. Holly Stocking and Dolf Zillman, "Effects of Humorous Disparagement of Self, Friend, and Enemy," Psychological Reports, 39 (1976): 454; Charles Baudelaire, "De l'essence du rire," Oeuvres Complètes (Paris: Gallimard, 1961), 975-993.

Many of those jokes reached the press, either officially or unofficially. During World War I, The English had Punch;[6] the Germans had Simplicissimus;[7] the French had a number of humorous journals published in and out of Paris.[8] Newspapers and serials published war-theme cartoons from numerous artists, famous and not.[9] And during World War II, of course, Mauldin and Cerf became famous in the United States for their published war humor.[10] Yet scholarship on published humor during war is rare. Three studies touch on humor in the World War II clandestine press.[11] Simmons, it seems, is alone among modern scholars tracing a history of a humorous publication during wartime.[12]

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[3] In Nilsen's bibliography, no media history relating to humor could be identified. About 16 entries could be called "history of humor," rather general in treatment. Of 106 humor scholars listed, five identified themselves as communication scholars, and four as historians. Nilsen, passim. Modern journalism scholars have been primarily interested in American political cartoons. Audrey Handelman, "Political Cartoonists As They Saw Themselves During the 1950s," Journalism Quarterly, 61 (1984): 137-141; Everette E. Dennis, "The Regeneraton of Political Cartooning," Journalism Quarterly, 51 (1974): 664-669; Everette E. Dennis and Melvin L. Dennis, "100 Years of Political Cartooning," Journalism History, 1 (1974): 6-10.

[4] A. St. John Adcock, "A Plea for More War Humor," Living Age (November 24, 1917): 495-97.

[5] "We have got to face our own private griefs and troubles, and as the men over there face theirs, put them out of sight--and smile. If we don't do that, the thing is going to break us." Lieutenant W.G. Hamilton, "Men Must Joke as Well as Fight," American Magazine, 86 (November 1918): 100. "I have always felt it was a positive attitude and humor--often in the form of gallows humor--that kept us going." Oscar Hasselknippe, letter to the author, Oslo, September 1, 1989. Kathleen Stokker, "Heil Hitler--God Save the King: Jokes and the Norwegian Renaissance 1940-1945," Western Folklore, 50 (April 1991): 186.

[6] Charles Laroom Graves, Mr. Punch's History of the Great War (London: Cassell and Co., Ltd.), 1919. At the front, humor has the effect of "stimulating a slacker, or rousing the despondent." J. Edward Mercer, "Humor and War," The Nineteenth Century, 79 (February 1916): 429.

[7] Sherwin Simmons, "War, Revolution, and the Transformation of the German Humor Magazine 1914-27," Art Journal, 52 (Spring 1993): 46-47.

[8] Le Rire Rouge is singled out by H. Pearl Adam, International Cartoons of the War (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., n.d., circa 1918), XXXVII.

This study attempts to establish a base parameter for this absorbing but neglected area by studying the entire edition of a French humor weekly during World War I. The weekly Le Bavard was established in Marseilles, then France's second largest city, before the war as a companion to the five serious daily newspapers serving the city. "Bavard" is

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[9] Adam; William Coupe, "German Cartoons of the First World War," History Today, 42 (August 1992): 23-30; Fred Schaefer, "The Press Humorist," Harper's Weekly (July 31, 1915): 114-115; (no author), "What We Laughed at One War Ago," Good Housekeeping, 115 (July 1942): 16-17; Everette E. Dennis and Melvin L. Dennis, 9; J. Murray Allison, compiler, Raemakers' Cartoon History of the War (New York: The Century Co., 1918).

[10] Bennett Cerf, "Axis Papers Won't Copy!" The New York Times Magazine (December 27, 1942): 8-9; William Henry (Bill) Mauldin, Up Front (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1944); Roy Douglas, The World War 1939-1945: The Cartoonists' Vision (London and New York: Routledge, 1990).

[11] Stokker, 171-190; George Sinclair, "Mots Parisiens. The Jokes About Adolph et al. That Helped Fan the Flames of French Resistance," New York Times Magazine (Sept. 24, 1944): 8. The second article is more anecdotal than academic. Hans Speier examined published war resistance humor in Force and Folly. Essays on Foreign Affairs and the History of Ideas (Cambridge, MA: The M.I.T. Press, 1969), 183, 190. A contemporary look at wartime humor is reflected in a third article: Antonin J. Obrdlik, "Gallows Humor--A Sociological Phenomenon," The American Journal of Sociology, 47 (1942): 709-716. This more or less anecdotal account of the author's nine months under Hitler's regime in Czechoslovakia nevertheless reflects conclusions made by later writers on clandestine war humor, but focuses on jokes, not the press.

[12] Simmons, Ibid.

French for chatter or gossip, and the newsprint-style journal apparently existed for some decades before the war's start. Le Bavard had merged with Le Petit Provencal in 1901, Marseilles' second largest daily (circulation 100,000), and probably the second most politically leftist mass circulation daily in all of France.[13] Le Bavard advertised itself as "Satire, society, theater and sports."[14] Many of its columns were devoted to news unrelated to satire and humor, listing the events we would normally find on today's arts and sports pages.

But its satiric cartoons and commentaries reflected a long-established French tradition of political satire in a society buffeted by political rivalries between right and left.[15] In fact, from the beginning of the country's first true freedom of the press[16] to the beginning of World War I, some 200 satirical newspapers appeared in France.[17]

This publication offers a particularly interesting resource for wartime humor research. Its association with a strongly leftist editorial viewpoint opens a crack in the seam of the public promise to call a truce to political disagreements during this "war to end all wars." In the beginning French people, like those of all belligerent nations, climbed enthusiastically onto the bandwagon of union sacrée, or "sacred union." Political differences were temporarily put aside to fight in common against a foreign threat, and nearly all publications promised to uphold this union by publishing nothing which could hurt national defense.[18]

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[13] Marie-José Rosaz, "Les vicissitudes d'un quotidien oublié: Le Journal de Marseille 1870-1904," unpublished diss., Université d'Aix-Marseille, 1977: 876-877; Claude Bellanger, Jacques Godechot, Pierre Guiral and Fernand Terrou, editors, Histoire générale de la presse francaise. Volume III: de 1871 à 1940 (Paris: PUF, 1972), 401; Pierre Guiral and Paul Amargier, Histoire de Marseille, (Paris: Mazarine, 1983), 299. The other newspaper was published in Lille.

[14] Le Bavard, June 13, 1914, nameplate.

[15] Sinclair, 8; Paul Gifford, "Humour and the French Mind: Towards a Reciprocal Definition, The Modern Language Review, 76 (July 1981): 538.

[16] The Third Republic, France's first stable democracy, dates from 1871, but the country's free-press law, still in force, was approved July 29, 1881.

[17] Bellanger et al., 385.

This severely hampered the satiric press, accustomed to publishing a regular dose of political ridicule. In France many of these journals simply quit: Le Sourire (Smile) in Paris stopped with the coming of war in 1914,[19] for instance, and Le Bavard followed suit, ceasing publication from August 1, 1914 to the first issue available for study, February 5, 1916.[20]

Humorous publications did not necessarily make this move in other countries at war. Coupe reported that in Germany the editor of Simplicissimus, that country's world-famous satirical journal, suggested suspending publication. The whole point of Simplicissimus, said editor Ludwig Thoma, was anti-establishment lampooning. Principal cartoonist Hermann Sinsheimer disagreed, however, suggesting the journal continue as "an unqualified advocate of patriotism."[21] In England, another world famous satiric serial, Punch, apparently came to the same conclusion, for although it continued to appear throughout the war, it almost never satirized its own leaders or allies. Critical themes included war shortages, Wilson's neutrality (before 1917), censorship, parliament (for its secret sessions), and the size of the cabinet. Mocking was carefully restrained, however, and hard to find between the heavily anti-German tirades[22]. Two instances of tougher anti-government satire did appear in 1918, one cartoon showing "The politician who addressed the troops," with the troops wearing gas masks, and another criticizing the government ministry by asking, "What's the teatime there? "Usual--three to five-thirty."[23] But these rare criticisms did not surface until nearly the war's end.

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[18] Numorous historians have examined this phenomenon. A few writing about France include Guiral and Amargier, 303; J.-J. Becker, La France en guerre 1914-1918: La grande mutation (Brussels: Editions Complexe, 1988), 30-32; R.D. Anderson, France 1870-1914: Politics and Society (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977), 112-18; Bellanger et al., 408.

[19] Bellanger et al., 386.

[20] All references are based on a collection of Le Bavard in the archives of the Bibliothèque Municipale of Marseilles. Listed as missing are one issue in January, one in March, and one in October, all of 1915. Curious and frustrating to American press historians is the unusual situation of France: archives of nearly all newspapers were destroyed in 1944-45, sometimes by the Nazis, but mostly by proprietors themselves anxious to avoid accusations of collaboration. "Everything was thrown out," said one important French historian, in an interview with the author. (Pierre Guiral, personal interview, Marseilles, 1989).

American humor during wartime indicates no anti-government lampooning, although research is scanty. "American cartoons while we were actually at war were a poor lot," declared humor historian William Murrell, quoted by Dennis and Dennis.[24] The government in December 1917 established a "bulletin for cartoonists," sent to every cartoonist to suggest good subjects. Themes included those which might stimulate recruiting, popularize the draft, save food and fuel, sell liberty bonds, etc.[25]

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[21] Coupe, 23-24.
[22] Graves, 22, 41, 64, 120, 134, 136.
[23] Ibid., 219, 246.

For those few American publications which thought of publishing anti-war humor, punishment was swift: in August 1917 The Masses, edited by Max Eastman, lost its second-class mailing privileges for publishing a radical poem and four anti-war cartoons.[26] On the other hand, many allied publications made a celebrity out of the Dutch satirist Raemakers, whose dark, devilish views of Germany were widely published in Britain and the United States. Of 100 cartoons republished in a book, not one criticized allied leaders.[27]

Coupe believed that the choice of satirist publications to offer only rousing support for their side was universal during World War I: "It possibly reflects a decision that was taken in the editorial offices of all satirical journals."[28]

Not true at the editor's office of Le Bavard. Although no editors' names were published, and records have not been found, it may be possible to assume that control of the weekly was led by the same editorial team as Le Petit Provencal. This included B. Martin, editor, A. Cristini, assistant editor, and Camille Ferdy, political editor, who may have become editor by 1916.[29] From the time the weekly was re-launched in mid-war, satirists aimed squarely at political leaders and government policies, and published less anti-German propaganda, in contrast with similar publications from other fighting nations. This effort was made despite censorship, which in France was more severe than in any other fighting nation, including Germany. France established a far-reaching network of censors based in every city in France, even small ones, who actually read every page of every publication prior to printing.[30] Teams of censors recruited by federal government prefects in each French department drove daily from paper to paper. For publications appearing less frequently, galley proofs were submitted to censors who met daily, usually at the prefecture (similar to city hall, but representing the federal government, and not local power). Censors would debate material in publications such as Le Bavard; if questions arose, they were encouraged to telephone the Bureau de la Presse in Paris, which had final say.[31]

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[24] Everette E. Dennis and Melvin L. Dennis, 9.
[25] Ibid.
[26] Edward Emery, The Press and America. Third Edition (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1972), 515.
[27] Allison, passim.
[28] Coupe, 24.

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[29] Paul Masson, editor, Les Bouches-du-Rhône. Encyclopédie départementale (Paris and Marseilles: Librairie ancienne Honoré Champion, and Archives départementales, 1919-1937), 624-5.

[30] A detailed analysis of war censorship in France is covered in Ross F. Collins, "The Development of Censorship in World War I France," Journalism Monographs 131 (February 1992).

[31] Paris (Château de Vincennes), Archives of the Service historique de l'armée de la terre, carton 5N372, censorship; Georges Liens, "La commission de censure et la commission de contrôle postale à Marseille pendant la première guerre mondiale," Revue d'histoire moderne et contemporaine 18 (October-December 1971): 651.

Administration of a system designed to monitor in its entirety every single published word in France seems unimaginably cumbersome, but censors apparently operated under this general principle: when in doubt, cut it out. Literally. Censors who caught offending text when it was too late to remake the page actually forced printers to scrape the type off the lead casting, leaving blocks of white space on the page.

The union sacrée for the first few weeks held publishers to silence regarding such stiff censorship. But by late September 1914 Paris editors such as the sometime-journalist-mostly-politician Georges Clemenceau found the regime intolerable. His newspaper was censored a number of times until, in November 1917, Clemenceau became head of state himself and ironically continued to harass the press.[32]

In Marseilles, Le Petit Provencal published its first complaint against the censorship system in November 1914.[33] It was to become a regular feature throughout the war. This background is necessary to understand the appearance of Le Bavard almost every week: a crazy-quilt of white blocks and borders surrounding sometimes only a few paragraphs that survived the censor. (See illustration one.)

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[32] "You're my best police!" Clemenceau reportedly told Captain Ernest Nusillard, director of the Bureau de la presse. Marcel Berger and Paul Allard, Les secrets de la censure pendant la guerre (Paris: Editions des Portiques, 1932), 236.

[33] Le Petit Provencal, November 24, 1914.

The insistence of an established journal not published clandestinely to offer wartime satire attacking not so often its enemies, but more its own country and allies, is apparently unique to France among World War I belligerents. Pre-war issues set the tone. As in other French publications, no editors noticed the possibility of war in Le Bavard until July 25, 1914, a week and one-half before the war declaration. In a column signed "Kosiki," socialist leader Jean Jaurès is berated for his call to an international strike in case of war: "And if the kaiser's regiments insist on showering down upon us, and insist on marching toward Paris, we'll hold meetings and discourse at length on the benefits of socialism."[34]

With the clear probability of war, Jules Messy mocked French people in the August 1, 1914, issue for their obsession with trivial drama: a lurid story of the wife of a French politician who was on trial for shooting a newspaper editor threatening to expose her husband's affairs. Again, French politicians are also satirized:

> Foreigner in train compartment: What do they say in your country about the menace of a European tragedy, and the mobilization for possible war?
> Frenchman (smiling): But we're busy talking about Madame Caillaux and the verdict reached by the Seine jury....
> Foreigner: You're joking....But even during the summer vacation, your deputies [congressmen] are doubtless worried about the situation....
> Frenchman: Our radical and socialist deputies are already busy worrying about their re-election. That's all that interests them.

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[34] All translations are by the author.

The satirical bent of Le Bavard is clear from these last issues before the war, favoring satire of French political leaders. This is similar to content to other satirical publications such as Simplicissimus and Punch, and of editorial cartooning the United States. What is different is that the German and British publications continued to publish after declaration of war, and American cartoonists continued to draw after February 1917, when Congress declared war on the Central powers. These humorists simply decided to drop anti-government satire and join union sacrée. Simmons noted that all German humor magazines after outbreak of war began to work closely with Germany's propaganda office, which distributed them abroad.[35] Coupe found little difference in content between German satirical journals which in general followed "the official line."[36] Le Bavard, however, chose to suspend publication in August 1914 rather than become an adjunct propagandist for the state.

Barring the unlikely discovery of primary sources documenting the process of editorial decision in Le Bavard's office, we can only speculate that these satirists would rather not publish at all than become a tool of French government propaganda. Why? All of France had unanimously declared its support for union sacrée, and its willingness to support the government in this conflict.[37] The answer may be found in a closer examination of politics both in the south of France and in the newspaper. *Le Petit Provencal*, which published *Le Bavard* and often lent its writers to the weekly,[38] was the most leftist mass circulation daily in one of the most leftist areas of France. Socialist activism was among the strongest and most entrenched in France. Leftist-leaning trade unions struck repeatedly, and before the war were strongly anti-militaristic. In fact, the south traditionally distrusted Paris power and supported significant independence movements.[39] Basing its mass circulation on its strongly leftist audience, *Le Petit Provencal* perhaps could not make the jump in its satiric sister from general political afflicter to wartime political comforter.

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[35] Simmons, 46.
[36] Coupe, 24.

It is important to point out the possibility of a more simple explanation, however. After all, many publications in France quit temporarily during the 1914 German invasion: by September 1914 German troops were only some 50 miles from Paris, perhaps unstoppable. More and more men were quickly drafted--editorial offices were left nearly too short-staffed to publish any newspaper, to say nothing of both a daily and a weekly.[40] It was not until the end of the year that normal civilian routines began to reappear.

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[37] Antoine Prost, *L'Histoire* (special issue devoted to World War I) 107 (January 1988), 7; Jacques Droz, director, *Histoire générale du socialisme, tome II: de 1875 à 1918* (Paris: PUF, 1974), 587.

[38] Marie-José Rosaz, 876-877.

[39] Antoine Olivesi and André Nouschi, *La France de 1848 à 1914* (Paris: Fernand Nathan, 1970), 177. Patrick Barrau, "Le mouvement ouvrier à Marseille (1900-1914)," unpublished diss., Université d'Aix-Marseille, 1971: 94; Lucien Gaillard, *La naissance du parti socialiste à Marseille* (Marseille: Editions Jeanne Laffitte, 1980), 131.

Le Bavard apparently tried four experimental returns beginning January 1915, but these are lost from archives. The first regular weekly issue appeared February 5, 1916, reduced from a pre-war eight pages to a thin four. Why did *Le Bavard* return? On page one it offered its own explanation:

> Why are we reappearing? Hey! It's because, logically, we had stopped appearing....Really, it was becoming abnormal and vexing to see all this bavardage being published, without *Le Bavard*....It's to present in a humorous way many truths that need to be said but, without our newspaper, won't be said.

This does not sound like an editorial decision to support the country's new *Maison de la presse*, the massive propaganda operation established only about a month before in Paris.[41] In fact *Le Bavard* seemed to have returned to its pre-war formula, including arts and sports reporting with satiric columns and drawings. Writers jumped right into satire against French politicians, such as Georges Clemenceau. The formidable former French prime minister, nicknamed "The Tiger" for his law-and-order politics, was anxious to return to power:

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[40] Bellanger et al., 408-410. While *Le Petit Provencal* said little of staff shortages, *Le Petit Méridional*, a comparable newspaper published in Montpellier, said one-third of its staff was lost to the military. Montpellier, Archives départementales, newspaper collection, issue of August 3, 1914.)

[41] Carton 5N363, booklet describing operation of the *Maison*, archives of the Service historique de l'armée de la terre.

> Do you want France to be completely clean of the dirty Teutons which are soiling her?
> Do you want us to achieve final victory, and to sign the peace in Berlin?
> Then there's only one thing to do: give your billfold, sorry, your hand, to Clemenceau, that is, to the Tiger.
>
> [Signed Evariste Corbulon.]

A week later, Le Bavard took a swipe at propaganda and parliament, under the headline, "The newsprint crisis":

> The directors of Paris newspapers are wondering if there is a way to reduce their format, and to appear on no more than two pages.
> This is easy to do. You only need to eliminate false news, tendentious canards and prose coming from parliament.

Much of the satire in Le Bavard, however, aimed at government censors. One example from April 1, 1916, is entitled, "A good communiqué [from the front]:

> In Paris and in the provinces, operations of the censors relented during the night. But in the weekly newspaper area, strikes of the scissors continued with violence. They were even able to occupy several columns of copy and take several articles prisoner.

While attacks against the censor seem to dominate Le Bavard's columns throughout the war, it was probably not that way by choice. Inevitably, Marseilles' censors reacted harshly to the return of satire clearly aimed at the country's own leaders. Column after column was blank, sometimes leaving so little to read that a four-page issue could have been reduced to half that. It is probable that censors had not cut such large amounts of type from the press, but had censored copy still in galley proof form. Editors of Le Bavard, then, could have replaced the offending material. Why did they choose not to? The easiest guess is that they had nothing else to replace it with--little advertising, little syndicated or wire material that a standard newspaper could rely on. More than that, however, it likely reflects stubborn protest against government censorship.

While blanks as protest were not common in most countries during this war, they were common in French publications. Le Petit Provencal sometimes ran blank blocks indicating the number of lines censored. Le Bavard often chose instead to show censorship as a series of pronouncements or drawings (See illustrations.) "Vive Malvy" is clearly a sarcastic reference to Louis Malvy, interior minister who implemented the civilian arm of France's two-tiered censorship, civilian and military.[42] "Schrameck," depicted in a number of illustrations critical of censorship, was likely Abraham Schrameck. As Bouches-du-Rhone prefect he was symbol of Paris power in Marseilles. Uniformed men holding scissors may represent French general Joffre and other military leaders, nearly all of whom strongly supported censorship.

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[42] Carton 5N372, censorship, archives of the Service historique de l'armée de la terre.

Another curious character drawn with scissors is the witch-like Anastasie. This traditional French symbol of censorship began at least 40 years before, although its origin is uncertain.[43]

Le Bavard of April 15, 1916, celebrated "Sainte-Anastasie" day with a front-page cartoon apparently showing Schrameck and Joffre oiling scissors. (See illustration five.) The caption reads,

(Well-known tune)
Censors, tool-sharpeners in disguise,
The scissors are working just as you like.
Watching out for a spirit too pointed
Saying that it must be disguised.
Schrameck, poet. Singer for Anastasie.

Between blanks and anti-censorship tirades, along with the usual small advertisements and art/sport news, satire occasionally survived. Shortages, a favorite topic for wartime satire generally, attracted the attention of an unidentified writer in the February 24, 1917, issue. Noting that by government decree all four-page dailies must reduce their run to two pages twice a week, the satirist declared that all news should be published in similar proportions, such as:

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[43] Some historians traced back its appearance to 1873, depicted then as wife of Fulbert, who had Abelard castated in the medieval story. But it may instead portray a nasty female figure common to vaudeville. René DeLivois, *Histoire de la presse francaise, tome II, de 1881 à nos jours* (Lausanne: Editions Spes, 1965), 401-402.

> War news: a half-zeppelin threw out about half of its bombs on some half-combattants, but only caused a quarter damages. The zeppelin, half-attacked by a portion of artillery half-used for anti-aircraft fire, was half destroyed.

The spring of 1917, following a failed but costly offensive which the country had hoped would end the interminable war, saw a series of dangerous strikes in Paris. Censors carefully tried to control spread of strike news, hoping Paris strikers would not encourage trade unions elsewhere. Despite that, Le Bavard of June 2, 1917, was able to publish:

> The strikes in Paris have inevitably had repercussions in Marseilles. Indeed, as we were going to press we learned that numerous groups have just raised the standard of revolt. Cigarette-butt collectors have distinguished themselves by the violence of their complaints. For a long time they have been complaining about the carelessness of smokers who have the pretension to "pull" all the way to the end of their cigars or cigarettes....

Commonly-raised topics for satire until the war's end included the cost of living, censorship, and the mayor, Eugene Pierre, lampooned for lazy and ineffective administration. Comments on shortages and ineffective politicians could occasionally be found in other European humorous publications, as observed above, but Le Bavard seemed determined to move more pointedly into French politics whenever allowed. Anti-German articles and cartoons also appeared, but did not dominate. On June 2, 1917, a front-page drawing satirized the plight of socialists, not in enemy countries, but in France. (See illustration six.)

International socialism was damaged by the war; socialists in all the belligerent powers who had declared their intention to unite in case of war and refuse to fight for bourgeois governments instead rallied to each country's *union sacrée*. While left-leaning, *Le Petit Provençal* editorially opposed extreme socialist internationalism, and ridiculed French socialists who disagreed on whether France should be represented at a 1917 attempt to recreate international socialism in Stockholm. Yet this cartoon appeared while socialists were still in positions of political power, represented in the wartime government coalition. Representation did cease soon after. Socialist ministers broke from *union sacrée* in September 1917, and left government ministerial positions.

The last year of war brought more and more severe government retaliation against strikes and protest, under the near-dictatorship of Clemenceau. But *Le Bavard* still was able to mock France's allies, and its military's useless daily war communiqués:

Official Communiqués:
On the French front. Nothing happening along the entire front.
On the British front. The fog prevented our soldiers from drinking their tea and shaving.
The Americans at work. Work on perfecting the American army as a great offensive force of the future for the allies is moving along with happy speed. All men have been issued a mechanical razor. Officers have binoculars which allow them to see the North Pole in one direction, and Japan in the other direction. Locomotives of 200,000 horsepower have been delivered....

The depth of sarcasm in this report can be seen in the obvious suggestion that the U.S. Army was slow in pulling its weight as an ally. This was true, but normally censored in print. The United States had entered the war in 1917, but was unprepared, and actually contributed little to the battle for many months. Also surviving censorship was an indication of French frustration that information from its close pre-war ally, Russia, was nearly useless following the revolution:

> Events in Russia (delayed in transmission):
> The tzar was assassinated yesterday. This morning, he drank his café au lait. At 10 o'clock he was guillotined. At noon he had lunch with his family. This evening he was buried. Tomorrow, the tzar will be moved to a calmer country.

Finally, as the war reached its frenzied final months in the summer of 1918, Le Bavard could still satirize reports of parliament and its secret meetings:

> Deputies chamber. Session open at 2:15 p.m. Deschanel presiding. The order of the day called for discussion on a certain number of questions. Several speakers appeared at the podium. The session was adjourned because no one understood anything anymore, and the rest was of no importance.

Of what importance is published humor during war? The answer may be as complex as the answer to the question, why do we laugh? Stokker believed that Norwegian anti-government humor during Germany's World War II occupation encouraged a sense of solidarity against repression.[44] Quoted in Nilsen, Vladimir Skuting said humor was a weapon against totalitarianism.[45] Coupe said humor for propaganda was important in "mirroring and steering public opinion."[46] Speier called it a weapon against tyrants, but observed that it also shows weakness, "an accommodation to suppression." Obrdlik said during Hitler's occupation of Czechoslovakia it was a morale builder and an escape; Hertzler said it was a safety valve; Oring said it was "a rebellion against a world defined by the media."[47]

Le Bayard certainly seemed to show rebellion, and much less often exhibited the propaganda common in other countries. Perhaps the rebellion surfaced in response to the harsh authoritarian approach of French censorship. Journalists used to only three decades of hard-won free press guarantees were thrust back to the press world of a dictatorship. Unlike its major allies, French editors had enjoyed press freedom for a comparatively brief period, in a nation beset by coups and dictators during the last century. Britain and the United States, in contrast, had been building a long tradition of democracy and political freedoms during this period. A fractious French press perhaps mirrored a fractured French political climate, finally disintegrating into occupation--and collaboration--during World War II. To test this theory, more historical research on published wartime humor would be helpful.

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[44] Stokker, 185.

[45] Don L.F. Nilsen, "The Social Functions of Political Humor." Journal of Popular Culture, 24 (Winter 1990), 40.

[46] Coupe, 24.

[47] Speier, 182, 180; Obrdlik, 709, 712; Hertzler, 143; Oring, 284.

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Against the Grain:
Published Humor in Wartime France
Illustrations

Illustration One

Page One of Le Bavard, August 5, 1916, showing numerous censored blocks.

Illustration Two

Drawing of "Anastasie" and scissors used to fill space left by censor. Le Bavard, 1916, passim.

Illustration Three

Cartoon depicting "Anastasie," above the cutline, "Ah! The Bastille! We should rebuild it...." On the muzzled dog's collar is written "liberty." Le Bavard, July 5, 1916.

Illustration Four

Illustration of uniformed censor, used to fill space left by censorship. Le Bavard, 1916, passim.

Illustration Five

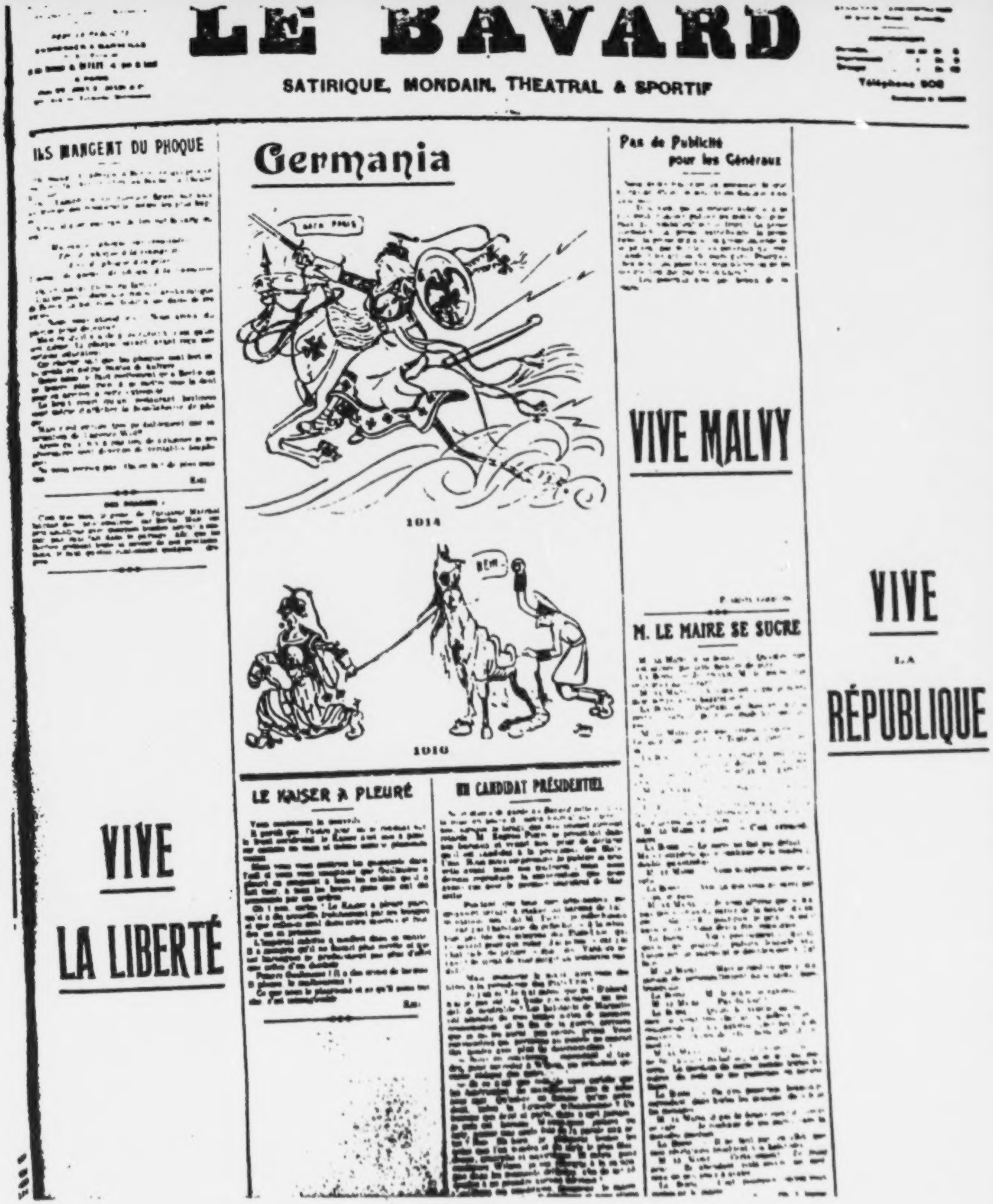
Cartoon apparently depicting departmental prefect Schrameck and French general Joffre sharpening censor's scissors. On the muzzled dog's collar is written "liberty." Le Bavard, April 15, 1916.

Illustration Six

Cartoon depicting the socialists' planned international meeting in Stockholm. The headline reads, "Embarking for Stockholm." The caption reads, "Socialist unity is remade." Le Bayard, June 2, 1917.

Illustration Seven

Many issues included censored columns like this one, filled with drawings of "Anastasie" and military characters with scissors.



LE BAVARD

SATIRIQUE, MONDAIN, THEATRAL & SPORTIF

Téléphone 908

ILS MANGENT DU PHOQUE

[illegible]

Germania

1914

1916

LE KAISER A PLEURÉ

[illegible]

UN CANDIDAT PRÉSIDENTIEL

[illegible]

Pas de Publicité pour les Généraux

[illegible]

VIVE MALVY

M. LE MAIRE SE SUCRE

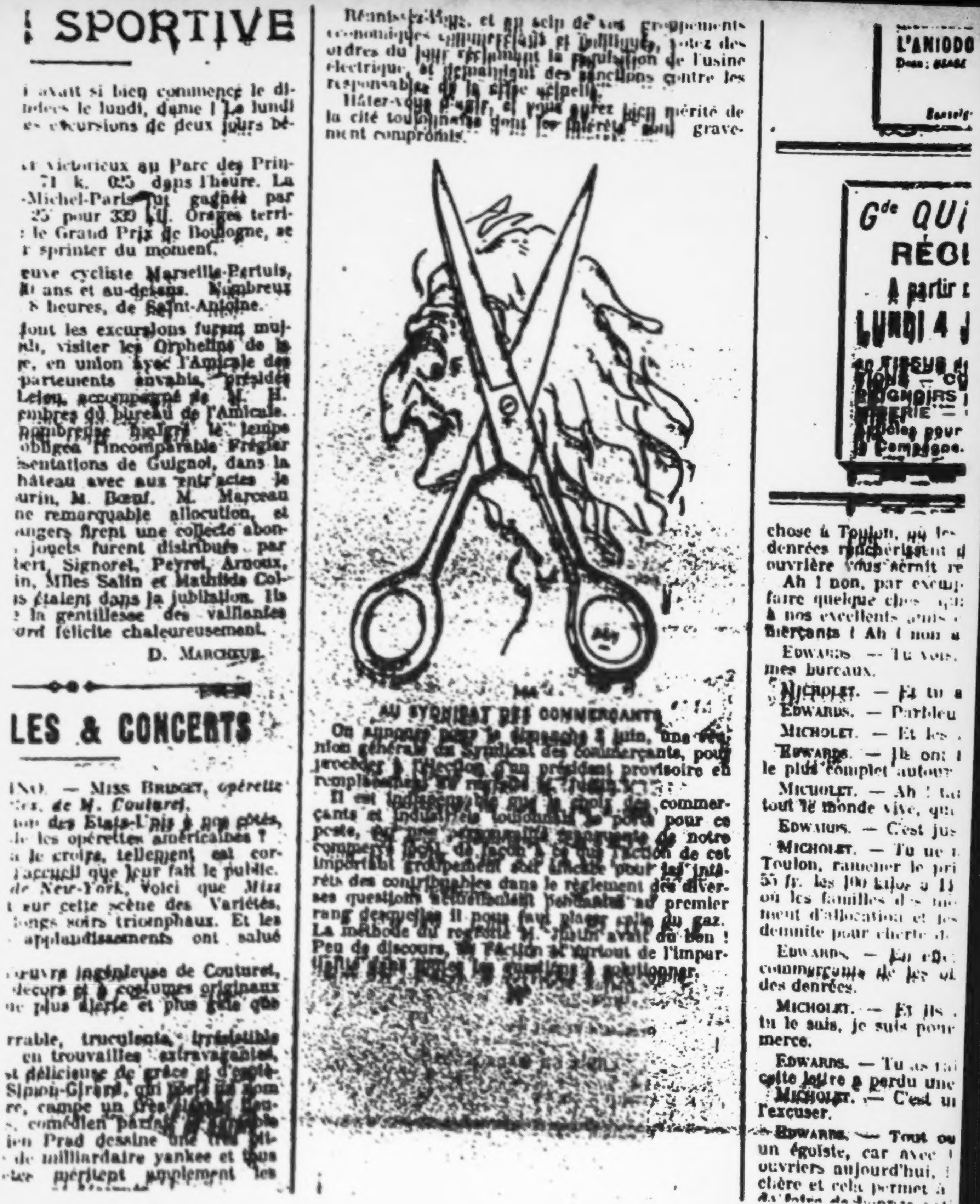
[illegible]

VIVE LA LIBERTÉ

VIVE LA RÉPUBLIQUE

Illustration One

BEST COPY AVAILABLE



SPORTIVE

i avait si bien commencé le di-
dées le lundi, dame ! Le lundi
es excursions de deux jours bé-

t victorieux au Parc des Prin-
71 k. 025 dans l'heure. La
-Michel-Paris fut gagnée par
25 pour 339 kil. Orages terri-
le Grand Prix de Boulogne, se
r sprinter du moment.

euve cycliste Marseille-Pertuis,
40 ans et au-dessus. Nombreux
8 heures, de Saint-Antoine.

dont les excursions furent nul-
di, visiter les Orphelins de la
re, en union avec l'Amicale des
partements envahis, présidée
Lelou, accompagné de M. H.
embres du bureau de l'Amicale.
nombreuse malgré le temps
obligea l'incomparable Frégier
sentations de Guignol, dans la
hâteau avec aux entr'actes le
urin, M. Bœuf. M. Marceau
ne remarquable allocution, et
angers firent une collecte abon-
jouets furent distribués par
bert, Signorel, Peyrot, Arnoux,
in, Mlles Salin et Mathilde Col-
s étaient dans la jubilation. Ils
la gentillesse des vaillantes
ard félicite chaleureusement.

D. MARCHEUR.

LES & CONCERTS

NO. — MISS BRIDGET, *opérette*
es, de M. Couturet.
ton des Etats-Unis à nos côtés,
le les opérettes américaines ?
a le croire, tellement est cor-
l'accueil que leur fait le public.
de New-York, voici que *Miss*
t sur cette scène des Variétés,
longs soirs triomphaux. Et les
applaudissements ont salué

œuvre ingénieuse de Couturet,
décors et à costumes originaux
ne plus alerte et plus gaie que

rrable, truculente, irrésistible
en trouvailles extravagantes,
st délicieuse de grâce et d'espiè-
Simon-Girard, qui porte ce nom
re, campe un très [illegible] Heu-
s, comédien parfait [illegible]
ien Prad dessine une très pit-
de milliardaire yankee et tous
tee méritent amplement les

Réunissez-vous, et au sein de vos groupements économiques commerciaux et politiques, votez des ordres du jour réclamant la [illegible] de l'usine électrique, et demandant des sanctions contre les responsables de la crise actuelle.

Hâtez-vous d'agir, et vous aurez bien mérité de la cité toulonnaise dont les intérêts sont gravement compromis.

AU SYNDICAT DES COMMERÇANTS

On annonce pour le dimanche 1 juin, une réunion générale du Syndicat des commerçants, pour procéder à l'élection d'un président provisoire en remplacement [illegible].

Il est indispensable que le choix des commerçants et industriels [illegible] pour ce poste, [illegible] de notre commerce [illegible] l'action de cet important groupement soit [illegible] pour les intérêts des contribuables dans le règlement des diverses questions [illegible] au premier rang desquelles il nous faut placer celle du gaz. La méthode du regretté M. [illegible] avait du bon ! Peu de discours, de l'action et surtout de l'impartialité dans toutes les questions à solutionner.

L'ANIODO
Dose : [illegible]

Gde QUI
RÉGI
A partir
LUNDI 4 J
TISSUS
CO
PEIGNOIRS
RIE —
Articles pour
la Campagne.

chose à Toulon, où les
denrées renchérissent d
ouvrière vous serait re
Ah ! non, par exemp
faire quelque chose qui
à nos excellents amis
merçants ! Ah ! non a

EDWARDS. — Tu vois,
mes bureaux.

MICHOLET. — Et tu a

EDWARDS. — Parbleu

MICHOLET. — Et les

EDWARDS. — Ils ont
le plus complet autour

MICHOLET. — Ah ! ta
tout le monde vive, qu

EDWARDS. — C'est jus

MICHOLET. — Tu ne
Toulon, ramener le pri
55 fr. les 100 kilos à 1
où les familles des mo
ment d'allocation et les
demnité pour cherté d

EDWARDS. — En effet
commerçants de les
des denrées.

MICHOLET. — Et ils
tu le sais, je suis pour
merce.

EDWARDS. — Tu as
cette lettre a perdu une

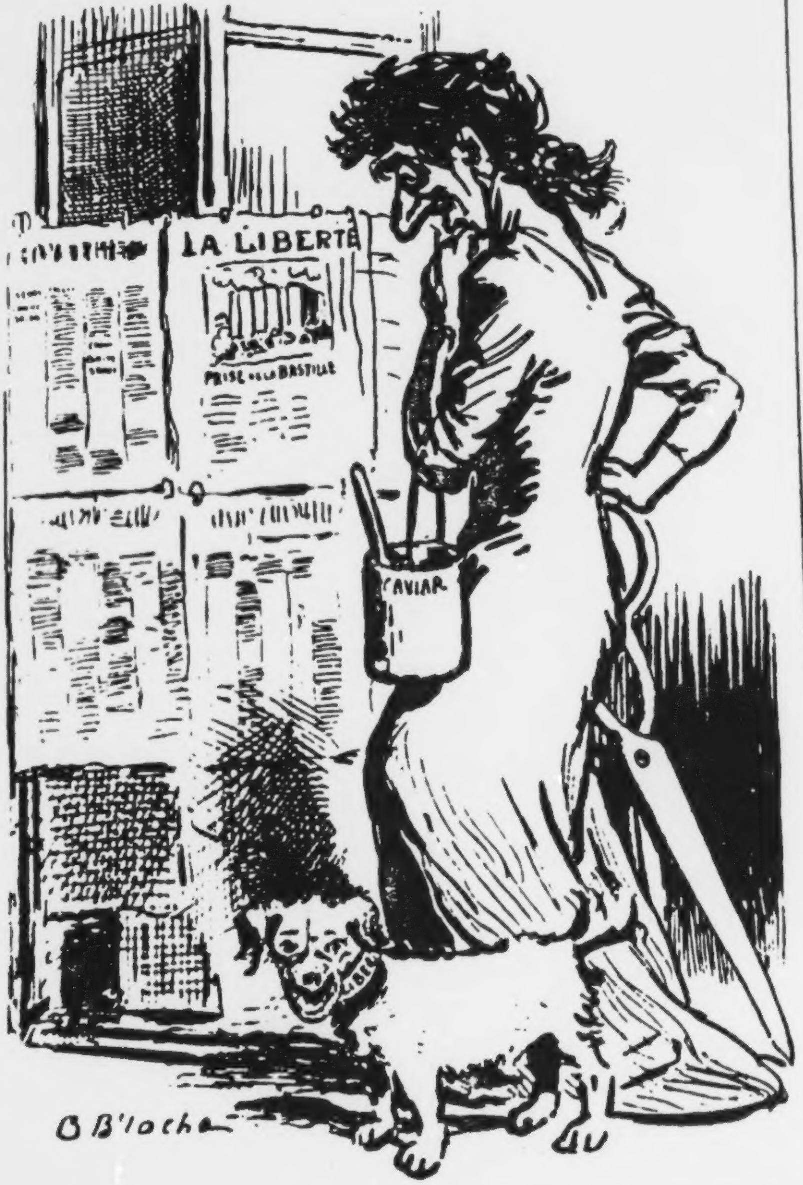
MICHOLET. — C'est un
l'excuser.

EDWARDS. — Tout ou
un égoïste, car avec
ouvriers aujourd'hui,
chère et cela permet à

Illustration Two

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Anniversaire


LA LIBERTE
PRISE DE LA BASTILLE
CAVIAR
O B'loch

ANASTASIE ·· [illegible] ·· Ah ! La Bastille ! On devrait bien la reconstruire...

Illustration Three

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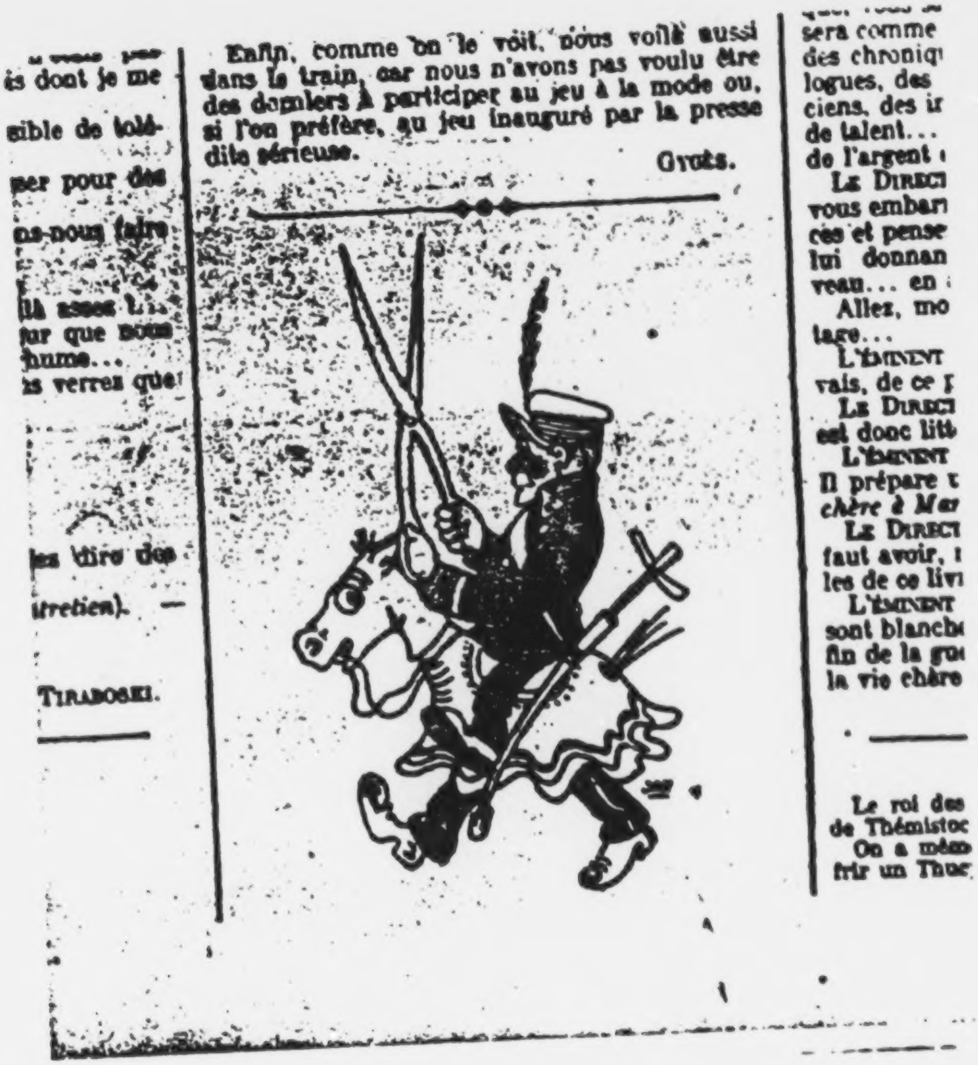

is dont je me

sible de tolé-

ser pour des

ns-nous faire

là assez

sur que nous

hume...

s verrez que

les dire des

ntretien). —

TIRABOSKI.

Enfin, comme on le voit, nous voilà aussi dans le train, car nous n'avons pas voulu être des derniers à participer au jeu à la mode ou, si l'on préfère, au jeu inauguré par la presse dite sérieuse.

Gyuts.

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de l'argent
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veau... en
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tage...
L'Éminent
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Le Direct
est donc litt
L'Éminent
Il prépare
chère à Mar
Le Direct
faut avoir,
les de ce livi
L'Éminent
sont blanch
fin de la gu
la vie chère

Le roi des
de Thémistoc
On a mém
frir un Thuc

Illustration Four

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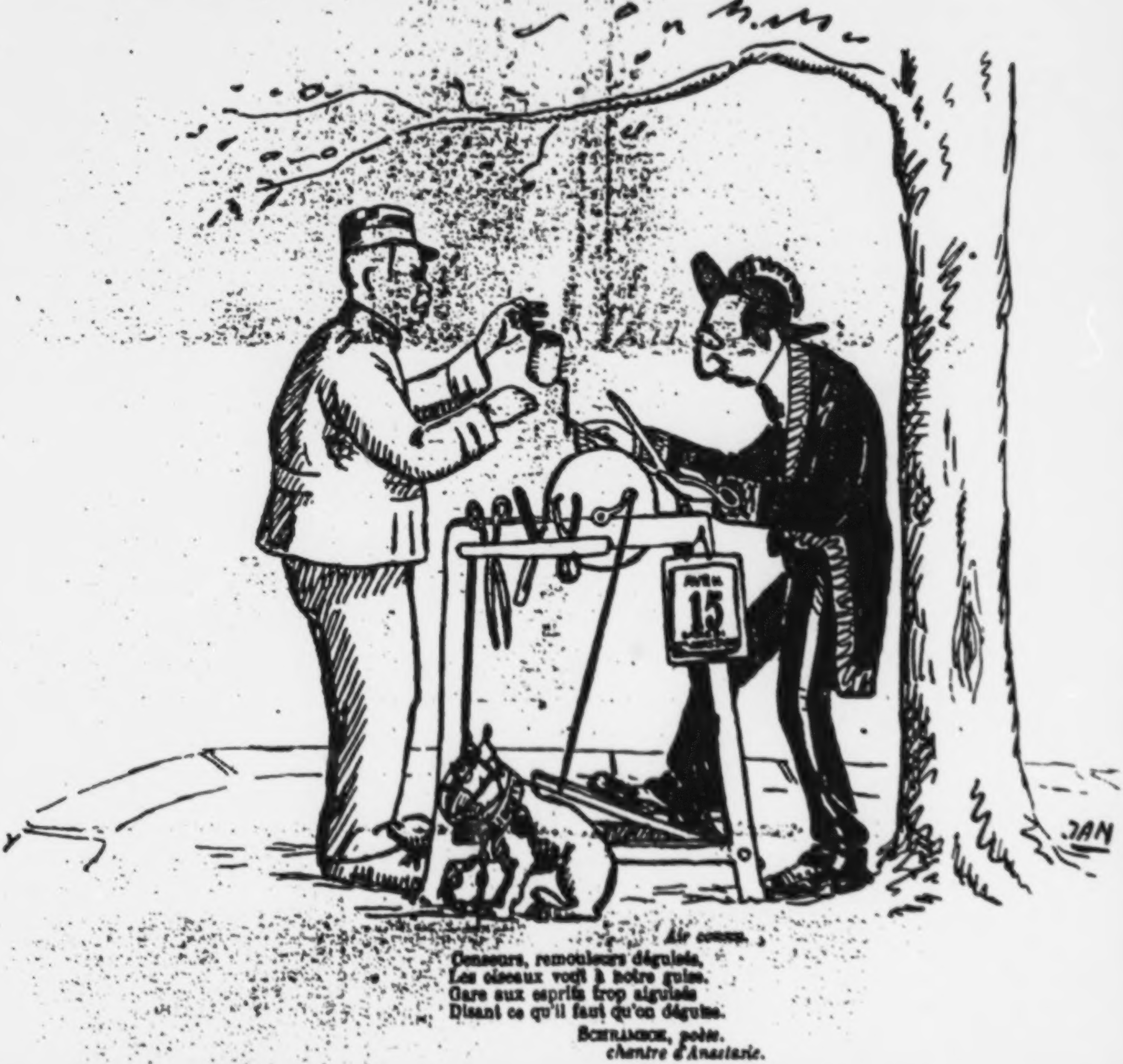
SATIRIQUE, MONDAIN, THEATRAL & SPORTIF

Sainte-Anastasie



Air connu.

Censeurs, rémouleurs déguisés,
Les ciseaux vont à notre guise.
Gare aux esprits trop aiguisés
Disant ce qu'il faut qu'on déguise.

SCHTRAMBOCK, poète.
chantre d'Anastasie.

Illustration Five

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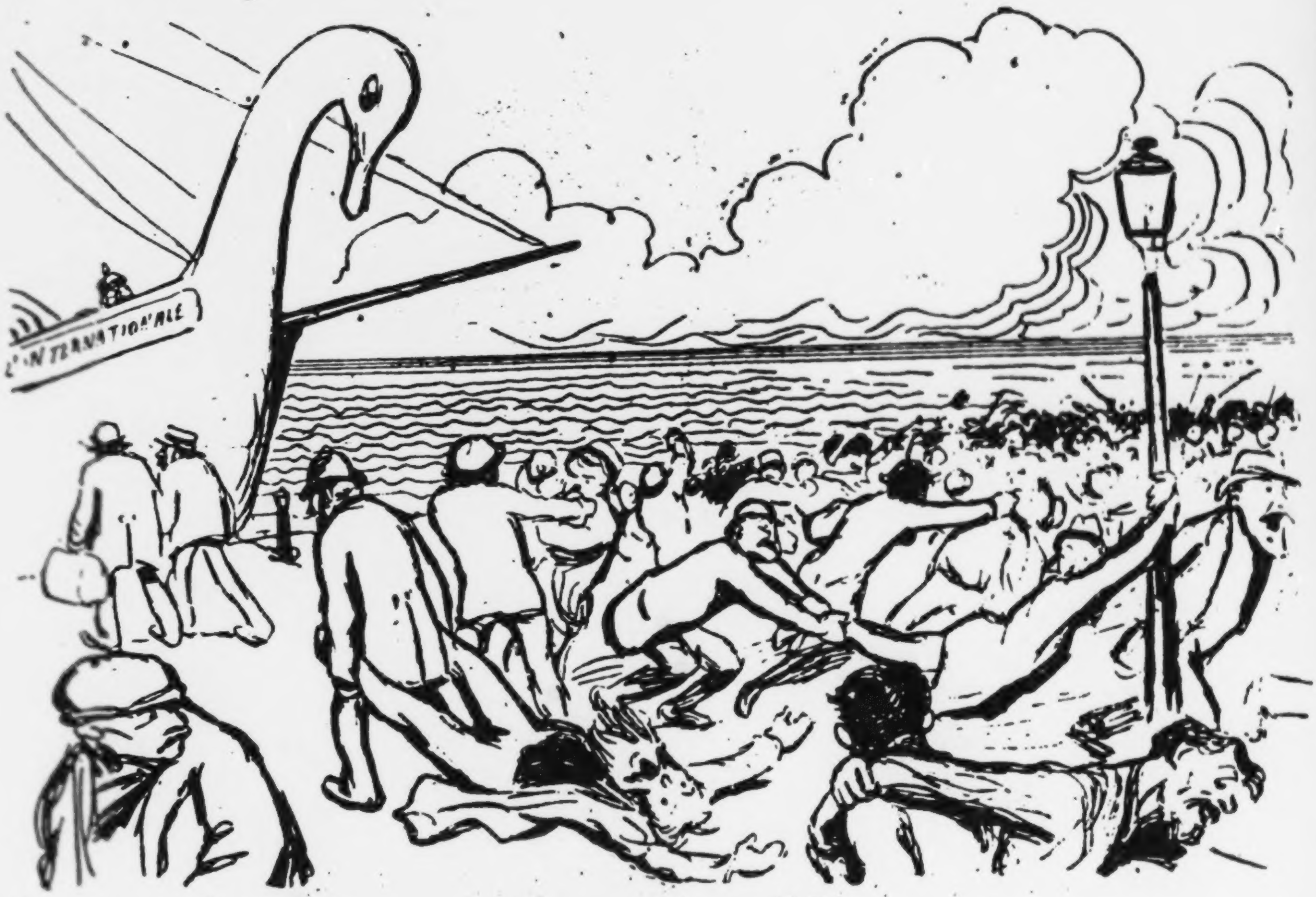
LE BAVARD

SATIRIQUE, MONDAIN, THEATRAL &. SPORTIF

L'Embarquement pour Stockholm


L'INTERNATIONALE

L'Unité Socialiste est refaite

Illustration Six

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du bon

des caffés en

le gaffe en

n'ont pu se

CHAUFFEE

l'interpel-
tous les maux
dans la cour

ne devait pas

L QUI PARLE

notre ministre de
rview à quelque

raient mieux un
nterview.

T DE MŒURS

ont obligés de

re pas, c'est que
s ont été littéra-
es vitrines et les
décrasses. Il ne

mme on le sait,
et par ce temps
e priver de tout.

OUCAS BLANC
ile l'année.

ONS

TH. DÉCARIS

justement appré-
tre Th. Décaris
le 60 ans. Au [illegible]

[illegible]

Armainvilliers, d'Alma, avec M. Jean [illegible], Avocat à la Cour d'appel de Paris, actuellement officier d'administration de l'intendance.

Le jeune marié, qui est un littérateur distingué et a collaboré à diverses revues de Paris et de notre ville, est le fils du sympathique et si estimé magistrat, juge au tribunal civil de Marseille, et de Mme [illegible].

La messe fut célébrée [illegible] en l'église de la Trinité, et les témoins étaient MM. J. [illegible] et F. Martin, ainsi que MM. [illegible] et A. Michel.

Tous nos vœux aux nouveaux époux.

On vient également de célébrer, dans l'intimité, le mariage de Mlle Antoinette de [illegible], avec le docteur J. Malavialle.

Les témoins étaient Mme E. [illegible] et MM. M. Malavialle, le sympathique greffier, A. Malavialle et L. Cabanel.

Parmi les mariages célébrés ces jours-ci, citons aussi celui de Mlle Myrtale Lop avec le lieutenant Raymond [illegible], de l'artillerie belge.

Les mariés étaient assistés par Mme [illegible], le docteur Lop et MM. [illegible] et Ch. Lop.

Également le mariage de Mlle Aurélie Garnier avec le lieutenant A. Franceschetti, du 7e tirailleurs, chevalier de la Légion d'honneur et Croix de guerre.

NAISSANCES

La charmante petite famille du docteur Pierre Vallette, l'érudit et habile praticien, et de Mme, née [illegible], s'est heureusement augmentée d'une ravissante fillette, qui s'appellera Renée.

On annonce aussi la naissance de Gilles de La Lande, fils du lieutenant et de Mme Jacques de La Lande, née Falkenberg ;

— De Georgette de Baciocchi-Adorno, fille de M. et Mme Pierre de Baciocchi-Adorno, née de Balsamo ;

— De Ferdinand [illegible], fils de M. et Mme G. [illegible], née [illegible] ;

— De [illegible], fils de M. et Mme D. [illegible], née [illegible] ;

— De Georges [illegible], fils de l'officier d'administration et de Mme, née [illegible] ;

— D'Albert [illegible].

— Annonçons également l'heureuse naissance d'un [illegible], à M. et Mme [illegible], qui a reçu le prénom de Paul. Nos meilleurs souhaits de bonheur.

DIALOGUE

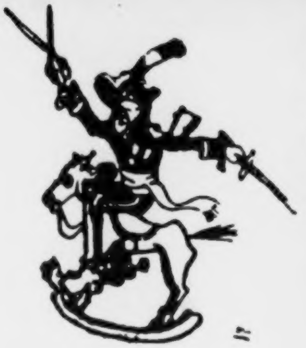
[illegible]

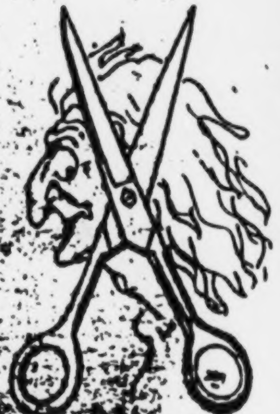
LES ANNALES

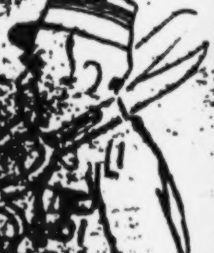
A lire dans les Annales de cette semaine, [illegible] hebdomadaire d'Yvonne Sarcey, [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]







[illegible]

SPECTACLES & CONCERT

[illegible]

Illustration Seven

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MAINSTREAM PRESS PORTRAYALS OF NATIVE AMERICANS IN THE "INDIAN NEW DEAL"

A Paper Presented to the
Minorities and Communication Division,
Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication

Atlanta, Georgia
August 12, 1994

by

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MAINSTREAM PRESS PORTRAYALS OF NATIVE AMERICANS IN THE "INDIAN NEW DEAL"

By Mary Ann Weston
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1845 Sheridan Road, Evanston, Illinois 60208-2101

Abstract - 75 words

The Indian New Deal of the 1930s radically changed Indian-white relations by ending the official policy of assimilation, giving Native Americans a measure of self-government, and encouraging respect for their traditional cultures. This paper examines the images of Indians in mainstream newspaper and magazine coverage of the Indian New Deal. It looks at portrayals of Indians and at journalistic practices that influenced the portrayals.

MAINSTREAM PRESS PORTRAYALS OF NATIVE AMERICANS IN THE "INDIAN NEW DEAL"

By Mary Ann Weston
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Abstract - 200 words

The Indian New Deal of the 1930s represented a radical change in Indian-white relations. Legislative and administrative action ended the official policy of assimilation, gave Indians a measure of self-government, and encouraged respect for their traditional cultures. This paper examines the images of Indians in mainstream newspaper and magazine coverage of the Indian New Deal. It looks at portrayals of Indians in local newspapers, national magazines and the New York *Times*. The images found in the press were much like those that had long been prevalent in literature and popular culture: the good Indian or noble savage, the bad or degraded Indian, and the Indian as an ancient relic of the past. Though a new image, that of the involved Indian citizen, appeared intermittently, it did not displace the other depictions. These images were found in the language and tone used in writing stories. In addition, certain journalistic practices, such as the definition of news and the selection of stories, reinforced the images. Thus, though policies affecting Native Americans changed significantly in the 1930s, their images, as depicted in the press, changed far less.

MAINSTREAM PRESS PORTRAYALS OF NATIVE AMERICANS IN THE "INDIAN NEW DEAL"

The New Deal era that began with the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 was a turning point in Indian-white relations. Roosevelt's Secretary of the Interior, Harold L. Ickes, and his Commissioner of Indian Affairs, John Collier, took federal policy toward Indians in a radically new direction. Until this time official policy had been essentially one of forced assimilation based on the premise that Native Americans were a "vanishing race." The solution to the "Indian problem," according to this view, was to divide up tribal lands, and destroy native cultures and lifeways in order to "civilize" Indians and make them indistinguishable from whites.[1]

In the 1920s some reformers outside the government challenged this view. They asserted that native cultures were intrinsically valuable and should be preserved. They also contended that Indians, particularly Pueblo tribes of the Southwest, possessed traits of co-operation, spirituality and artistry that the white mainstream could profit from emulating.[2] One of the noisiest and most persistent advocates of this philosophy of cultural pluralism was Collier. In his first 14 months as head of the Indian Bureau he pushed through an "Indian New Deal"--administrative measures and legislation that embodied his views of the place of native peoples in American society. The cornerstone of this effort was the Wheeler-Howard bill, known as the Indian Reorganization Act. Though the law that passed Congress was a mere shadow of Collier's grand vision, it did effectively end the allotment of Indian lands, re-structure the Indian school system and give tribes a greater measure of self-government than they had had under previous administrations.[3]

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This paper deals with the portrayals of Native Americans in the mainstream press at the time the Indian New Deal was being discussed and implemented. It is part of a larger study of portrayals of Native Americans in the mainstream press. Because government policy toward native peoples was changing radically in the 1930s, it is fair to ask if their images in newspapers and magazines changed, too. Specifically, this paper seeks to answer these questions: What images of Indians were present in the press? How did journalistic practices and conventions affect the portrayals of Indians?

IMAGES OF INDIANS

The idea of "the Indian" holds a special place in the American psyche. Scholars have examined the history of the idea of the Indian for what it says about Europeans and, later, Euro-Americans--how they thought of themselves, the world they had inhabited, and the one they had newly come upon. The image of the Indian has roots in the European idea of the noble savage, but that philosophical and literary construct collided with the real "savages" Europeans encountered in America. Then, Europeans tried to make sense of a group of people who had no place in their world view.[4]

The images constructed by Europeans and Euro-Americans not only helped them make sense of themselves and the world, but they undergirded the policies by which they dealt with Indians. Thus, however unreal and erroneous the images, they had profound impacts on real Native American people.

According to historian Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., whites often described Indians according to how well they measured up to white norms, rather than viewing them on Indians' own terms. Also, whites often mixed description with moral judgments so that Indians were measured "against those beliefs, values, or institutions (whites) most cherished in themselves at the time."[5]

Images of the Indian have embraced two basic and contradictory conceptions: the good Indian or noble savage and the ignoble or bad Indian. The two images have persisted in literature and popular culture from captivity narratives of the 17th century to movies of the 20th century. As the destructive effects of European contact became apparent in epidemics of disease and alcohol addiction, another image, closely related to the bad Indian, appeared, that of the "degraded" Indian who had succumbed to whites' vices without adopting their virtues.[6]

As the circumstances of both Indians and Euro-Americans changed, the images were modified and elaborated upon, but many of their central elements remained. Good or bad, there was a "curious timelessness" in the depiction of the Indian as a being frozen in the past.[7] Thus even contemporary Indians were described with reference to a distant, earlier time. They were portrayed as having ancient, exotic qualities.

Studies of the images of Indians have examined many aspects of literature and popular culture, but there has been little examination of Indian images that appeared in the press, particularly in the 20th century.[8] Possibly one reason news media images have not been examined as much as those in the entertainment media is that news is viewed as reporting on reality, not fantasy, as being grounded in fact, not fiction.

That is not to say, however, that the press does not deal in images. Walter Lippmann, for example, observed that people construct and act upon "fictions" to explain and make the world manageable. "For the real environment is altogether too big, too complex, and too fleeting for direct acquaintance. We are not equipped to deal with so much subtlety, so much variety, so many permutations and combinations....[W]e have to reconstruct it on a simpler model before we can manage with it." Lippmann also noted the dangers of "blind spots" and uncritical acceptance of stereotypes. Yet, he observed, in journalism stereotypes provide readers a "familiar foothold" to get them into the story.[9]

While the kinds of stereotypes discussed by Lippmann can be a helpful way of making sense of a complex world, inaccurate stereotypes--or images--can also distort reality to the detriment of the people and issues being portrayed. So it is useful to examine the images of Native Americans as they appeared in the press in the context of the reality of the people and events the press portrayed.

METHOD

The method used for this study is historical analysis of selected mainstream newspaper and magazine articles written at the time of the Indian New Deal. Two general types of publications were chosen for scrutiny: local newspapers in areas with significant Indian populations, and newspapers and magazines with national audiences. Local newspapers included the Rapid City (South Dakota) *Daily Journal*, the (Phoenix) *Arizona Republic*, the Muskogee (Oklahoma) *Daily Phoenix*, the (Oklahoma City) *Daily Oklahoman*, and the Santa Fe (New Mexico) *New Mexican*. Publications with national audiences included the New York *Times*, the *Literary Digest*, the *Nation, Good Housekeeping, Time, Newsweek, Saturday Evening Post, Collier's, Parents Magazine, Scientific American*, and the *Reader's Digest*.

Articles in the local papers were found by looking at issues published around times of newsworthy events involving the Indian New Deal, such as the congresses called by Collier in March and April of 1934 to tell Indians about the legislation pending in Congress and to solicit their support. In addition, the *New York Times Index* and the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* were used to find articles in national publications about the Indian New Deal.

The stories and articles were analyzed from the point of view of the audience. In other words, the researcher sought to discern what images of Indians readers might have gleaned from the articles, and to learn whether stories in the news media about real Indians and real events reinforced or dispelled the traditional images represented in literature and popular culture.

FINDINGS

Stories in national and local publications at the time of the Indian New Deal contained some persistent and familiar images of Indians as well as some new ones. Indians were portrayed as being noble savages, bad or degraded Indians and exotic relics of the past. As new government policies involved Indians in decision making, they became news sources, and another image, that of the involved Indian citizen, appeared. These images were seen not only in the language and tone of stories, but also in such journalistic practices as defining what was newsworthy and selecting stories.

Good Indian/Noble Savage Images

Journalistic interpreters of the philosophy of cultural pluralism that informed the Indian bureau's policies often portrayed Native Americans as possessing characteristics superior to those of whites. In arguing that Indians should be allowed to develop their traditional cultures and to retain what was left of their land base rather than being forced to assimilate into the white world, articles sometimes employed an image of native people as noble savages. They depicted Indians as gaining unique satisfactions from their closeness to nature.

For example, Mary Heaton Vorse, in an article in *Scholastic* magazine explaining the benefits of the Indian Reorganization Act, asserted that the public was beginning to realize that

> the Indian...had a way of life which possessed an extraordinary wholeness, possessed satisfactions forgotten by people living in our distracted machine of civilization. [10]

And, Cash Asher wrote in the New York *Times* that

> The Indian never tries to change the face of nature and create artificial surroundings as does the white man. He is a very part of nature and in his native habitat is in direct contact with her for his livelihood...He loves every meadow and mountain of his native clime with patriotic fervor.[11]

Aside from the unwarranted extension of these characteristics to a non-existent generic "Indian," both articles show how presumed cultural traits were idealized by some pro-New Deal writers.

Opponents of the Indian New Deal sometimes used similar imagery to argue the opposite side of the issue. Writing in the *Saturday Evening Post*, Flora Warren Seymour, a Chicago attorney who had been a member of the Federal Board of Indian Commissioners, a body eliminated by Collier, energetically attacked New Deal policies toward the Navajos. The Navajo, she wrote, "has remained among the most primitive and the most independent of Indians. Until these late years he has gone his own way--a simple way of hardships and privations, it is true, but a way that has much to satisfy his spirit." The traditional life of these Indians, the article contended, was being trampled by misguided New Deal ideologues and romantics.[12]

Interestingly, the article employed imagery similar to that often used by Collier partisans in arguing *for* the Indian New Deal. Here, however, Seymour asserted that the rhetoric of cultural pluralism was deceptive and that a regimented, government-imposed way of life, not freedom, was being forced upon the Navajos.

The image of Indians--particularly Pueblos--as noble and innocent and in some ways superior to whites had appeared frequently in the press of the 1920s. It survived into the 1930s, as in a breathless article by Alice Booth in *Good Housekeeping* magazine: "There is no scolding in an Indian home; father and mother set an example of quiet and serene living which cannot fail to influence the babies they love so well," a photo caption said. In the body of the article Booth related how a small boy accidentally dropped and broke a bowl and how his mother, unlike whites, comforted but did not punish him. "We call ourselves civilized....but is it possible that the Indians can teach us lessons in gentleness and consideration and poise?"[13]

Degraded/Bad Indian Images

By the 1930s Indians were several decades away from being a significant military threat to whites. Thus the "bad Indian" image of savage predators was seen less than the equally negative image of the Indian as "degraded," either through his own innate improvidence and laziness or through the corrupting influences of white culture. "Degraded" Indians might be seen as lazy, dumb, uncivilized, or extravagant. By the 1930s this image was so well-worn in the press that reporters and headline writers often simply referred to such Indians as "Poor Lo,"[14] a journalistic shorthand reference to the phrase "Lo, the poor Indian," from Alexander Pope's *An Essay on Man*, written in 1774.

> Lo, the poor Indian whose untutor'd mind
> Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind;
> His soul proud Science never taught to stray
> Far as the solar walk or milky way;[15]

Sometimes the degraded image was applied collectively to a group of Indians, as in stories about the Osage tribe of Oklahoma whose members acquired sudden oil wealth in the early part of the century, only to see much of it squandered or stolen. Press accounts characterized the whole tribe as profligate spenders who could not handle their new-found wealth. Stories were studded with examples of Osages buying expensive cars, homes and clothing, only to go broke when oil revenues dried up in the Depression.

In 1933 when the tribe's oil revenues were scant, a *Literary Digest* story quoting the New York *Herald Tribune* characterized the Osages as not only extravagant ("Being broke is hard on Lo.") but uncomprehending. "...[T]he big (oil) producers...put deep holes in the earth, and by some magic Lo never understood sucked from the ground a thick black liquid that resulted in millions for the Osage tribe."[16]

A 1935 New York *Times* story stated flatly that "...the Indians are free with their money. They don't keep it long." The article told of how the oil income of tribe members, once "the richest people in the world," had plummeted in the Depression and was now on the rebound. "It means the Indians are buying again," the article said.[17]

Seminoles of Florida, without the dubious benefit of oil money, were collectively described as "a disconsolate, defeated and uneducated people" who "occupy their present jungle area only because white men have found it too difficult to penetrate."[18] Hill Indians of Montana were described as "Homeless, destitute and lacking tribal ties."[19] In both stories the degraded characterizations were followed by proposals for assistance from the Indian Bureau.

The degraded Indian image was also conveyed through the newsroom practice of labeling those named in crime stories. Thus if an Indian was arrested or victimized by crime, his tribe or the generic label "Indian" was a routine part of his identification. It was not unusual to see headlines in Indian country newspapers that said: "Indian Sentenced For Grocery Theft;"[20] "Navajo Held Under Guard;"[21] "Indian Youth Held, Murder."[22] This practice, which was also true for African Americans, quite likely conditioned readers to think of Indians as violent, drunken or dishonest.

A more subtle but equally damaging practice was rendering stories about Indians in a slightly humorous tone, liberally laced with clichés, stereotypical terms such as "fire water," "redskin" and "paleface," and incorrect usage of terms such as "wampum," "wigwam," and "peace pipe." The effect of such articles was to trivialize Indians, to render even their legitimate concerns as subjects for humor and ridicule.

For example, in 1934 when the Creek tribe of Oklahoma held its first election since 1899, the outcome was treated matter-of-factly by the *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City): "Roly E. Canard of Wetumka has been elected principal chief of the Creek Indians. It is the first time since 1899 that the Creeks have been permitted to elect their own chief..."[23]

In *Newsweek*, however, the story attempted to strike a humorous contrast between what it characterized as traditional tribal practices and the modern activity of voting:

> Before they adopted white man's ways, the Creeks planted beans, corn and Jerusalem artichokes, killed their scalped enemies by slow torture, hunted big game, wove bison-hair loin cloths, and held pow-wows in mud-chinked huts. To nominate candidates for chief they now meet in a church, sit on chairs, talk English, and follow parliamentary procedure. In the good old days squaws did the dirty work and never came near councils of state. Last week many women's votes swelled Roley Canard's plurality....They (Creeks) dropped their ballots in ballot boxes, without a feather or a war-whoop to give an Indian flavor to the Anglo-Saxon procedure.[24]

The images of the Creeks in the two stories contrast starkly. In the *Daily Oklahoman* they are responsible citizens exercising their tribal franchise after being denied it for a generation. In *Newsweek* they are a recently-primitive and picturesque people whose exercise in democracy is trivialized.

Stories needlessly making Indians the object of humor also cropped up in newspaper travel, entertainment and feature sections. An article in the New York *Times*, discussing casting for a film version of *The Last of the Mohicans*, declared that

> "[A]borigines flocked to the United Artists tepee in swarms....There were coppery ones and pale ones; some were attired in buckskinned, face-painted regalia of the warpath, and others in the latest thing from the reservations surrounding England's Bond Street; some rode in on ponies with stagecoach-attacking lineage, and others in limousines acquired in the rich harvest of Oklahoma's oil fields."[25]

The article expressed disappointment in Indian aspirants who didn't measure up to the Hollywood image: "a dumpy, whitish and unprepossessing man whom [the director] rejected scornfully as a phony turned out to be an actual descendant of the noble Uncas, the boy-hero of the Cooper novel," and approval for those who did: "He was the classic, fourteen-carat, gorgeous Indian brave to life. He stood well over six feet, with black shining hair, coppery skin and an aquiline profile that would make a nickel turn tail in shame."[26]

A short item poking fun at an Indian could find its way onto the front page, even if the information was neither local nor newsworthy. This Associated Press dispatch, carrying a Denver dateline, appeared on the front page of the *Arizona Republic*:

> White man's firewater--O.K. White man's medicine--ugh! Plenty nasty!
>
> That was what Chief Sundown, 42 years old, who said he came from Idaho, told Police Judge A.M. Pickens today after pleading guilty to being intoxicated.
>
> His punishment was a dose of castor oil--the penalty Judge Pickens has been assessing drunken persons since last Christmas.

> The chief's stoicism almost wilted when he took his "medicine," court attaches said.
>
> Before he was sentenced, he told the court he got drunk every Saturday night.[27]

Items such as this not only reinforced the image of Indians as drunken and degraded, but also made their situation somehow humorous, allowing the writer of the item to use stereotypical terms--"firewater," "ugh," "stoicism"--and making the story newsworthy enough to be used by the wire service and chosen for a brief in the Arizona newspaper.

Indians who conformed to white norms of language and dress were also subjects of ridicule, as in this *Arizona Republic* story, which ran under the headline, "Perfect English Used By Indian."

> A rounded and polished sentence from the lips of a copper-skinned Indian gave one employee in the federal building proof yesterday that the Indian educational program has not been in vain.
>
> When a six-foot, two-inch brave, clad in clothes of the latest cut, walked into a certain federal office, the employee concerned would not have been surprised to hear, "Ugh. Where Indians meet, please? Me want to attend."
>
> But the question the brave asked was:
>
> "Would you be so kind as to tell me where the discussion of Indian affairs with Mr. John Collier is being conducted."
>
> He was directed to the United States Indian School[28]

Occasionally the journalistic image of Indians as lazy was graphic and explicit as when the Chicago *Tribune* ran a front page editorial cartoon slamming what, in its view, was the laziness of lawmakers. It showed an Indian in feathered headdress sitting and smoking in front of a tepee. In the background was a capitol dome surrounded by the phrases, "Shorter hours of work," "5 hour day," "30 hour week!" The Indian was saying, "Hump! Paleface steal 'em my stuff!"[29] The Indian, collectively and generically, was a metaphor for indolence, in the Chicago *Tribune*.

Indians as Exotic Relics of the Past

Articles depicting Indians as relics of the past certainly were not new in the 1930s. It is ironic, however, that this imagery persisted while the so-called "relics" were struggling in the present with complex legislation conferring greater self government powers.

For example a 1933 *Parents Magazine* article advised parents on the value of "playing Indian" with their children, portraying Indians as exotic role models pulled from prehistory. The article first sought to remove what it called "the mass of falsehood...in which the Indian has been presented as a treacherous and bloodthirsty animal, with not a spark of true humanhood in him." The article then replaced the negative stereotype with a long list of positive ones, such as: "Outstanding virtues of the red people were courage, honesty and hospitality." "Indian children began while very young to learn how to be useful and efficient." "Perfect utility combined with beauty and grace was the Indian craftsman's ideal." All references to Indians in the article were in the past tense with little indication that these people still existed. And many, though not all, referred to "the Indian" as a generic whole, giving short shrift to the wide differences in native cultures.[30]

Similarly an article in *Scientific American* lamented that "the Indian is now a creature of the past, who can be studied mostly in books and museums."[31] Such a notion was explicitly stated in an *Arizona Republic* article on an Indian pow wow in Flagstaff:

> Like ghosts from the pages of the past, Indian dance teams in full regalia, picturesque riders from a score of tribes, gaily decorated wagons, Indians in holiday dress and native entertainers bedecked with strands of turquoise and silver jewelry, all will march forth in a brilliant panorama.[32]

At the same time papers in the Southwest were reporting on deliberations of Navajo or Pueblo tribes on government programs that would profoundly affect their futures, the papers also ran stories portraying the same Indians as almost other-worldly performers who put on spectacles for the entertainment of white tourists. An *Arizona Republic* article promoting an upcoming pow-wow noted that

> "Teddy Neze's yabechi dancers and the sacred medicine and buffalo ceremonial troupe will follow (earlier acts), after which there will be the red man's great sports of horse racing, tug-of-war on horseback, and mounted Indians bareback showing the prowess of the native....A carnival spirit will prevail under the direction of the white man."[33]

An article that seemingly made a stab at coming to grips with the dichotomy of Indians' practicing ancient cultures in the 20th century ran in the Chicago *Tribune* in connection with the Indian villages at the Chicago World's Fair of 1933. The writer of the first person article, James O'Donnell Bennett, through a series of questions sought to reconcile his stereotype of Indians with the people he was seeing at the fair:

> Are these men who move with such beautiful poise really majestic or only stolid--or both? Are they truly laconic or only verbally dull?....Are they tractable?....Are they truthful?....Do they crave liquor?....Are they lazy?....Do Indians live longer than we do?[34]

Clearly in the 1930s many Indians were living in two worlds. But few articles successfully represented this tension.

Contributing to the portrayal of Indians as ancient and exotic was newspapers' selection of short "filler" stories that reinforced this image. These one- to four-paragraph stories, usually carrying a one-column headline in 18- or 24-point type, probably had the journalistic purpose of breaking up the large story elements in making up a page, and of introducing a change of pace both in tone and subject matter. But another effect was to reinforce the image of Indians as relics of a distant time and place. Headlines from the New York *Times* include, "Indians in Full Regalia/ Dance at White House"[35] and "Indian Tom-Toms Hail/Large Wild-Rice Crop."[36]

A filler in the Muskogee (Oklahoma) *Daily Phoenix* reported movie star Mae West seeking a virtual reincarnation of the past. Under the headline, "Go West, Young Indian; Mae Promises No Harm," the story said in part, "Mae wants an Indian for her next movie....if possible, a direct descendant of the Indian whose profile adorned the old pennies. Mae said....'If I find the right one, I promise to return him in good shape.'"[37]

Another manifestation of the exotic/ancient imagery appeared during the dry summers of the 1930s when pages of the Eastern press were sprinkled with stories of Indian rain dances. For the most part these were short stories taken from the Associated Press wire service. Often, longer, more detailed versions ran in Arizona or New Mexico papers. The most frequent subject was the snake dance of the Hopis of Arizona, quite possibly because of the sensational image of Indians dancing with live snakes in their mouths and also because of the popularity of tribes of the Southwest with Eastern tourists. In any case, some of the stories, while factually accurate, reinforced the exotic image by using language such as "weird appeals" and "chanting red men."[38] Others used less loaded terms. But even straightforward description added to the exotic image:

> Tonight [the snakes] were in the secret recesses of the kiva...being fondled fearlessly by the priests who chant and fashion beautiful, intricate sand paintings in honor of their unwilling visitors....[S]cientists and tourists...come...to watch the snake priests and their aides, the grotesquely masked antelope men, dance with the squirming reptiles in their mouths and on their arms.[39]

Stories that appeared in papers in New Mexico and Arizona, where tourists often jammed villages to watch the dances, carried details worthy of an anthropology text. The stories also told readers when the dances, which were the public climax of a nine-day ritual, would take place at each participating village. Colorful language played up the exotic aspects of the rites: "Stomping and swaying in rhythmic cadence to the weird music of hummers and chanters...."[40] This likely played a part in attracting large numbers of white spectators, such as the 2,000 at Hotevilla and 1,000 at Shipaulovi, in 1936 as reported in the *Arizona Republic*.[41]

To a newspaper reader in New York such accounts must have seemed outlandish at the least, and certainly foreign to mainstream Christian or Jewish religious traditions. Through the selection, organization and length of stories, Indians' traditional religious expressions were rendered as circus-like stunts.

Images of the Involved Indian Citizen

A newer image, that of Indians who spoke effectively for themselves, who could and did operate in the political arena, appeared in the 1930s. At least partly because of the New Deal's public emphasis on Indian participation in some decisions, Indian voices, less mediated by white "friends," were heard more often in the press. This involved Indian was a source rather than a symbol. He (virtually all those cited were men.) might be a tribal leader or spokesman for an insurgent faction. Often, he had been educated in white schools or government schools for Indians such as Carlisle. He spoke English and this fact was often noted in stories. But the essential thing that set this image apart from others was that the involved Indian citizen was not described or characterized. He was treated as a conduit for information, in the same way a white source--politician, missionary or stockman--would be treated.

Examples of this could be seen in the Muskogee *Daily Phoenix's* coverage of Collier's meeting there with representatives of the Five Civilized Tribes (Cherokee, Choctaw, Chickasaw, Creek and Seminole) and others. For days before the meeting, which took place on March 22, 1934, the paper carried stories of tribal groups declaring opposition to the Wheeler-Howard bill, which the paper also editorially opposed. Those lining up against the bill were treated as mature and intelligent and their views were presented respectfully, albeit with loaded words that revealed the paper's bias. (The measure was variously termed "Collier's segregation proposal"[42] and a bill for the "communization of Indian lands."[43]) Dozens of Indians on various "reception" and "interrogation" committees to meet with Collier were named and quoted.

An example, citing one of the few Indian women mentioned in any paper's coverage, was the *Daily Phoenix's* mention of "Mrs. S. R. Lewis of Okmulgee" who "announced that the Indian Women's club had drafted resolutions opposed to the bill which they intended to present the commissioner..."[44]

Another was a story speculating on a possible successor to the acting chief of the Choctaw tribe, who was to be elected instead of appointed for the first time since 1900. In the manner of any piece of political speculation, the story noted that "It is understood that [acting chief Ben Dwight] the scholarly Leland Stanford and Columbia graduate will be a candidate for reelection, though there are reports that several prominent Choctaws also seek the office. Officials seek to avoid partisanship in choosing of the new chieftain, observers said."[45] Here Indians are treated as politicians in the same manner as other citizens. There were not burdened with further imagery.

Other papers, too, portrayed Indians as thoughtful and involved in determining their own fates. When Collier met with Osages in Oklahoma in October, 1934, the *Daily Oklahoman* (Oklahoma City), pointed out the tribe's sophisticated approach to proposed legislation:

> Other tribes said they would not accept the bill until it is amended to remove (objectionable) features. The Osages said they would accept the bill with the agreement that those amendments were made.
>
> Where other tribes regarded the act and Collier with suspicion born of what they regard as long abuses, the Osages approached it with an attitude of confidence in Collier...[46]

And, the Santa Fe *New Mexican* portrayed Pueblo Indians as more knowledgeable than white lawmakers:

> "The Pueblo Indians were chuckling today because the federal government asked them to do something that has been their custom for centuries. It was the self-rule provision of the Wheeler-Howard bill....The Pueblos have been electing their governors for so long a time there is no memory of a different method.[47]

By portraying Indians as participants in events, the stories showed them as political beings with some power to affect their lives. Stories that reported on Indians' views of aspects of the Indian New Deal showed Indians as thoughtful individuals with varying interests and points of view. By framing such events as the Indian congresses and tribal councils as significant news stories and, often, playing them prominently on the front page, local newspapers in Indian Country contributed to the image of Indians and their affairs as important and newsworthy.

JOURNALISTIC USES OF IMAGES

Clearly, a great deal of newspaper and magazine writing in the 1930s picked up, perpetuated and embellished images of Indians that had appeared in other times and other media. But there were additional ways journalistic forms and conventions perpetuated inaccurate imagery.

Language and Tone of Stories

Both the national and local publications routinely followed the conventions of the day by calling Indians "chiefs," "braves," "squaws," or "papooses." without regard to tribe or circumstance. In addition to descriptions of clothing and lifestyles that portrayed Indians as exotic relics of the past (discussed above), many stories bestowed upon Indians personality traits or physical abilities that reinforced the prevailing imagery. Thus the *Arizona Republic* described those at a pow-wow as "tall, lithe young Navajo braves," "solemn bucks on horseback" and "squaws."[48] At a tribal council meeting Navajo headmen "gravely greeted the representatives of the white man's law and convened solemnly the Navajo council..."[49] Describing an upcoming Pueblo buffalo feast the Santa Fe *New Mexican* declared, "The Indian is never happier than when supplied with buffalo plunder...."[50]

Newspapers sometimes demeaned Indian men by referring to them by their first name on second reference. Thus the famous Sac and Fox athlete Jim Thorpe was called "Jim" throughout a New York *Times* feature story about his political activities while his former coach, Glenn (Pop) Warner, was referred to by his surname: "With Warner's help, Jim was to become an all-American...."[51]

When the press superimposed inaccurate imagery on authentic news events, it trivialized the people and the proceedings. For example, when Collier met with representatives of Arizona tribes on March 16, 1934, in Phoenix, the *Arizona Republic's* lead story described the Indian delegates as colorful but barely up to the intellectual rigors of conferring with the commissioner.

> Faces of the listening Indians offered an unusual character study. Almost all were serious. Some wore expressions solely of curiosity. Others were quizzical. A keen sense of humor was displayed. Most of the braves were paunchy, and out of the conference room wore big hats, styled to the Southwest.
>
> The spokesmen used perfect English, were attired in the white man's fashion. In most instances where more or less native costumes were worn,...it was by the women, not the men. The approach of the Indians to the problems presented was direct, intelligent.[52]

Selection of Stories

Meeting in March and April of 1934, the Navajo Tribal Council wrestled with a difficult and painful decision. Government officials including Collier said the Navajos must reduce their livestock because land on the reservation was eroding as a result of overgrazing. Soon, they warned, it would be unable to support the sheep, goats and other livestock that underpinned the tribe's economy and culture.

Other matters, momentous and trivial, were on the council's agenda, too. At the March meeting Collier was there in person to answer questions about the pending Wheeler-Howard bill. Tribesmen asked and later received Collier's approval to institute a mounted police force to go after crime and vice on the reservation. And, at the March meeting, the council approved a resolution eliminating honorary tribal memberships that had been bestowed on politicians, movie stars and other celebrities over the years.[53]

Stories about these meetings appeared in several newspapers around the country. Analysis of these articles shows how imagery worked in the selection of stories about Native Americans. The issue of stock reduction was a controversial one to the Navajos who reckoned wealth and prestige in the size of a family's herds of sheep and goats. Sheep provided meat for food and wool to be sold or woven into blankets. Goats were a Navajo's last refuge against destitution. It was said they used "everything but the smell."[54] To ask Navajos to reduce their herds would be roughly analogous to asking urban Americans to give up their automobiles because they cause air pollution.

The second issue, discussion of the proposed Wheeler-Howard legislation, was politically important to Collier, who sought to line up support of the nation's largest tribe for the measure. The third issue, the Navajo mounted police, was important because of the increase in bootlegging, prostitution and gambling on and near the reservation. This was tied to the increase in wage earnings by Navajos in federal conservation programs. The last issue, the resolution revoking tribal membership for celebrities, was so trivial that it is not mentioned in the major histories of the time.

Papers in Phoenix and Santa Fe carried wire service stories about all four issues. But only the inauguration of the mounted police and the inconsequential story of honorary members being ousted from the tribe resonated beyond the Southwest. Thus the New York *Times* carried three stories on the mounted police and one on the ouster of the celebrities. Only in the last paragraph of one story was stock reduction mentioned. The New York *Times* story, an Associated Press dispatch carrying a Gallup, New Mexico, dateline, began,

> The pale-face Indians--such notables as Douglas Fairbanks, Mary Pickford and Jimmy Walker--were read out of the Navajo Tribe today.
>
> The Navajo Council, composed of twelve real copper-skinned braves, issued the decree abolishing all honorary memberships in the tribe..."[55]

The *Times* story did not carry the explanation, which appeared in the Santa Fe *New Mexican*, that "racial pride or prejudice did not figure in" the decision. Nor did the New York paper carry the quote from Navajo tribal chairman Tom Dodge that "It was merely an effort to be truthful and avoid making the Navajo tribes ridiculous by falling for every celebrity that comes along."[56] It is possible that the explanatory material was not carried in the AP story that reached New York. Nevertheless, the fact that the eastern paper selected stories portraying Navajos as petty and a bit silly conformed to the widespread practice of making Indians subjects for humor.

In the Chicago *Daily News* the wire service story was used as a take-off point to add a local angle and spin the story into the realm of inaccuracy. The *Daily News* used the Navajo action to question memberships other tribes bestowed on celebrities at the Century of Progress world's fair in Chicago, then reassured readers that other tribes were not following the Navajos' lead.

> Heap Chief Flying Eagle, who is Gen. Italo Balbo to you, need not look to his laurels nor fear losing a single feather in his turkey-plume cap.

> Honors conferred by Indian tribes at A Century of Progress during 1933 will "stick"...."Once a Sioux, always a Sioux," were the comforting words obtained at the fair administration building today."[57]

In addition to generalizing among many tribes, the *Daily News* article inaccurately combined two news stories to make it appear that the Navajos' action was inspired by Indians in Hollywood who were then protesting that non-Indians were taking their roles in movies. The two stories were separate and, apparently, unrelated.[58] Quite likely the writer of the *Daily News* article was following the time-honored journalistic injunction to localize wire service stories. This is a prime example of how apparent ignorance of the differences among tribes plus scanty information contributed to an inaccurate story that could only reinforce readers' stereotypes of Indians as relics of the past--akin to circus acts or museum pieces, rather than real, contemporary people.

The story of the mounted Navajo tribal police, carrying an image of Indians on horseback that harked back to dime novels and Saturday afternoon movies, had a remarkably long life beyond the Navajo reservation. It was first mentioned in the New York *Times* in the March 15 story cited earlier. Another short story appeared on April 22, 1934. On Dec. 16, 1934, a third short story ran stating that the mounted police "are establishing an enviable record" and asserting that "unexcelled bravery and the ability to follow any kind of a trail anywhere make the Indians particularly valuable..."[59] The *Literary Digest* also ran a story on July 14, 1934, citing *Indians at Work*, the Office of Indian Affairs publication.[60]

Thus, at a time when the Navajo tribe was wrestling with issues such as stock reduction and far-reaching federal legislation, the image in two major mainstream publications harked back to the noble savage, this time on horseback, or rendered them silly and petty for banishing celebrities from their ranks. This lopsided portrayal was accomplished not only through the tone and language of the stories but, perhaps more significantly, by the selection of stories.

Definitions of News

If Indians were often portrayed as exotic, strange and separate from white society, then when Indians displayed "white" ways, this was deemed unusual and, therefore, newsworthy.

For example, short articles in the New York *Times* reported that a Cherokee woman paid a $13.95 bill that was 15 years old[61] and that "Emulating their white sisters, Ute squaws...are taking an interest in their personal appearance" by using "marcelles and permanent waves...along with manicures and plucked eyebrows."[62] A story with a Lac du Flambeau, Wisconsin, dateline reported that "Thoughtful redmen of the Chippewa Indian tribe here have decided to try the white man's magic [to attract] tourists....Recently the Chippewa braves met and voted $300 to be used as an advertising fund."[63]

When a Sioux group, frustrated over lack of federal action on its land claims, threatened to sell the Black Hills to Canada, the action was termed a "walkout" in a New York *Times* article. The article ended with the observation that the Sioux were "showing an aptitude for publicizing their cases in the same forceful manner now being used by other groups in other sections of the country."[64] When members of the Navajo tribal council decided to abolish 29 Indian service jobs, they were described in the *Arizona Republic* as "wielding the economy ax with the skill and precision of their white brothers."[65]

When an Indian tribe was reported to have turned down government money, the story, conveying the image of Indians not only emulating white values of self-sufficiency but going further in acting on these values than many whites did, resonated widely. The story--of Menominee Indians refusing to accept $30,000 in public works funds for road construction--was reported in a number of distant papers from Springfield, Massachusetts, to Phoenix, Arizona. At least three wrote approving editorials. Typical was the Springfield *Republican* which noted that the tribe was "setting an example to their white civilizers that is really embarrassing."[66]

If news is, by definition, what is unusual, then Indians using white techniques of self-beautification, advertising, publicity-generating walkouts and economizing were newsworthy because they were not expected to behave in the same ways as the dominant culture.

CONCLUSIONS

In the 1930s the public and government were being asked to think of Indians in new ways by respecting their traditional cultures. Whites were called on to deal with Indian groups on a new basis, as at least partially self-governing entities. Yet in the mainstream press that was charged with reporting this sea-change in Indian policy, images of Indians were substantially unchanged from earlier times. These were images of the good Indian or noble savage, the bad or degraded Indian, and the Indian as an ancient relic of the past. Though a new image, that of the involved Indian citizen, appeared intermittently, it did not displace the earlier depictions.

While these images were abundant in the language and tone used in writing stories, certain journalistic practices, such as the definitions of news and the selection of stories, also reinforced them. Thus, though policies affecting Native Americans changed significantly in the 1930s, their images, as depicted in the press, changed far less.

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[1] For a view of assimilationist attitudes and policies from 1880 to 1920 see Frederick E. Hoxie, *A Final Promise: The Campaign to Assimilate the Indians, 1880-1920* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984). Accounts of the Indian New Deal are in Kenneth R. Philp, *John Collier's Crusade for Indian Reform* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1977); Brian W. Dippie, *The Vanishing American: White Attitudes and U.S. Indian Policy* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1982); Francis Paul Prucha, *The Great Father: The United States Government and the American Indians* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1984), pp 917-992.

[2] Richard H. Frost, "The Romantic Inflation of Pueblo Culture," *The American West*, Jan./Feb., 1980, pp. 5-9, 56-60; Lawrence C. Kelly, *The Assault on Assimilation* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1983), pp. 103-377; Dippie, pp. 273-296.

[3] Dippie, pp. 311-318; Philp, pp. 135-163.

[4] For a comprehensive treatment of images of American Indians and the history of the idea of the Indian see Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978). See also Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., "White Conceptions of Indians," in William C. Sturtevant, general editor; Wilcomb E. Washburn, volume editor, *Handbook of North American Indians, Vol. 4: History of Indian-White Relations* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1988), pp. 522-547 and Roy Harvey Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1953, 1965).

[5] Berkhofer, *White Man's*, pp. 25-27.

[6] Berkhofer, *White Man's* p. 30.

[7] Berkhofer, *White Man's*, pp. 28, 30.

[8] A discussion of 19th century newspaper portrayals of Indians is John M. Coward, "The Newspaper Indian: Native Americans and the Press in the 19th Century," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, 1989. For an overview of news media coverage of American Indians see James E. Murphy and Sharon M. Murphy, *Let My People Know: American Indian Journalism, 1828-1978* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1980), pp. 3-15.

[9] Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1922) pp. 16, 355.

[10] Mary Heaton Vorse, "Helping The Indians to Help Themselves," *Scholastic*, Oct. 24, 1936, pp. 3-4, 16.

[11] Cash Asher, "Our Indian Youths Have A New Deal," New York *Times*, Aug. 5, 1934, Sec. VIII, p. 4.

[12] Flora Warren Seymour, "Thunder Over the Southwest," *The Saturday Evening Post*, April 1, 1939, pp. 23, 71-72, 74, 76.

[13] Alice Booth, "I Discover Some Americans," *Good Housekeeping*, v. 103, November, 1936, pp. 48-49, 227-229.

[14] For example, the *Literary Digest* of Aug. 12, 1933, p. 33 headlined a story about Osage Indians losing their oil wealth in the depression "Poor Lo Rich No Longer." The phrase was used to make a contrast in a *Newsweek* story headed "Lo, the Modern Indian." *Newsweek*, Aug. 29, 1938, p. 13.

[15] An Essay on Man (1773-1774: Epistle I) quoted in Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., "White Conceptions of Indians," *Handbook of North American Indians*, Volume 4: History of Indian-White Relations, William C. Sturtevant, general editor; Wilcomb E. Washburn, volume editor. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1988, p. 528. Berkhofer writes that "'Lo the poor Indian' is always in reference to Indians who are taken advantage of or pitiable in some way."

[16] *Literary Digest*, Aug. 12, 1933, p. 33.

[17] New York *Times*, Aug. 5, 1935, p. 13.

[18] New York *Times*, Nov. 15, 1936, sec. XII, p. 10.

[19] New York *Times*, July 15, 1934, sec. IV, p. 7.

[20] *Arizona Republic*, Aug. 12, 1936, sec. 2, p. 1.

[21] Santa Fe *New Mexican*, June 26, 1935, p. 1.

[22] Rapid City *Daily Journal*, March 5, 1934, p. 1.

[23] *Daily Oklahoman*, Sept. 16, 1934, p. 6A.

[24] *Newsweek*, Sept. 22, 1934, p. 13.

[25] New York *Times*, Aug. 16, 1936, sec. X, p. 4.

[26] New York *Times*, Aug. 16, 1936, sec. X, p. 4.

[27] *Arizona Republic*, March 13, 1934, p. 1.

[28] *Arizona Republic*, March 16, 1934, p. 2.

[29] Chicago *Tribune*, April 17, 1933, p. 1.

[30] Constance Lindsay Skinner, "Our Children's Indian Heritage," *Parents Magazine*, October, 1933, pp. 16-17, 54-55.

[31] Marius Barbeau, "The Disappearance of the Red Man's Culture," *Scientific American*, January, 1933, pp. 22-24.

[32] *Arizona Republic*, June 28, 1936, sec. 2, p. 2.

[33] *Arizona Republic*, July 2, 1933, p. 1.

[34] Chicago *Tribune*, July 30, 1933, Part I, p. 7.

[35] New York *Times*, May 15, 1936, p.1.

[36] New York *Times*, Sept. 12, 1936, p. 34.

[37] Muskogee (Oklahoma) *Daily Phoenix*, Sept. 27, 1934, p. 1.

[38] New York *Times*, Aug. 16, 1934, p. 2.

[39] New York *Times*, Aug. 15, 1937, p. 2.

[40] *Arizona Republic*, Aug. 22, 1936, p. 1.

[41] *Arizona Republic*, Aug. 24, 1936, p. 1.

[42] Muskogee *Daily Phoenix*, March 13, 1934, p. 5.

[43] Muskogee *Daily Phoenix*, March 18, 1934, p. 1.

[44] Muskogee *Daily Phoenix*, March 13, 1934, p. 5.

[45] Muskogee *Daily Phoenix*, *March* 22, 1934, p. 5.

[46] *Daily Oklahoman*, Oct. 18,1934, p. 9.

[47] Santa Fe *New Mexican*, March 16, 1934, p. 2.

[48] *Arizona Republic*, July 4, 1933, p. 1

[49] *Arizona Republic*, Oct. 31, 1933, p. 4.

[50] Santa Fe *New Mexican*, Jan. 15, 1934, p. 1

[51] New York *Times*, Dec. 26, 1937, sec. II, p. 2.

[52] *Arizona Republic*, March 16, 1934, p. 1.

[53] Information on the tribal council meetings is in Philp, pp. 150-151 and Donald L. Parman, *The Navajos and the New Deal* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976) pp. 52-58. For information about the resolution concerning honorary tribal members see the Santa Fe *New Mexican*, March 14, 1934, p. 8 and March 15, 1934, p. 8; the *Arizona Republic*, March 15, 1934, pp. 1,4; and the New York *Times*, March 15, 1934, p. 2.

[54] Santa Fe *New Mexican*, March 13, 1934, p. 2.

[55] New York *Times*, March 15, 1934, p. 2.

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[56] Santa Fe *New Mexican*, March 15, 1934, p. 8.

[57] Chicago *Daily News*, March 15, 1934, p. 4.

[58] New York *Times*, March 15, 1934, p. 2.

[59] New York *Times*, Dec. 16, 1934, sec. IV, p. 6.

[60] "The Navajo Mounted Police," *Literary Digest*, July 14, 1934, p. 32.

[61] New York *Times*, Dec. 13, 1934, p. 23.

[62] New York *Times*, Dec. 30, 1934, Sec. IV, p. 7.

[63] New York *Times*, Sept. 13, 1936, Sec. IV, p. 7.

[64] New York *Times*, Sept. 5, 1937, Sec. IV, p. 10.

[65] *Arizona Republic*, July 9, 1933, p. 1.

[66] Quoted in *Literary Digest*, Aug. 26, 1933, p. 33. Other articles were in the New York *Times*, July 31, 1933, p. 2, and, two years later, the *Arizona Republic*, June 15, 1935, sec. 2, p. 8.

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Henry R. Luce's Intellectual Militia: Examining the Origins of the Commission on Freedom of the Press

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Late in October 1946, Robert Hutchins, the chancellor of the University of Chicago, wrote a brief letter to Roy Larsen, the president of Time Inc., enclosing what Hutchins hoped were the final revisions of the report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press. In a closing, one-line paragraph, Hutchins summed up his feelings about the sponsor of the commission and publisher of Time: "I am sorry I ever met Harry Luce."[1]

Besides his normal duties as university chancellor, Hutchins had spent much of the last four years working with the commission, which has come to be called the Hutchins Commission. As chairman, he had interviewed hundreds of people, read countless tracts and report rewrites, organized the meetings and maintained correspondence with the thirteen commissioners and four advisors.[2] In June 1946, Time Inc. funding had ended and Henry Luce had given the commissioners' work a harsh assessment, followed by a threat to withdraw his long-standing offer to publish the commission's report in full in a Time Inc. publication. As a result, Hutchins seethed with frustration. Writing to the journalist Walter Lippmann, he said, "I must admit that I am so sick of the subject that I hate to look at the report again."[3]

The commission's final report is generally considered to be one of the most forceful intellectual critiques of the American press ever written. But this assessment is based upon the contents of the report, not an analysis of the report as a cultural product. In fact, the report was the product of a time when people were increasingly conscious of the potential of the mass media and when journalists were faced with the daunting challenge of reconciling democratic ideals with the growing realities of the business of journalism. In this light, the process by which the Hutchins commissioners were selected is significant in defining the values and biases of the participants and in explaining the nature of the commission's report. To judge the value and the continuing relevance of the commission's work as well as the many interpretations made in its aftermath, it is necessary to understand how the Hutchins Commission originated and was administered. To do this, it is necessary to examine the role of Henry Luce.

Despite the significance given the Hutchins Commission by journalism historians, little scholarly scrutiny has been directed at the commission's origin. Some scholars have suggested that criticism of journalists and their profession spawned the commission. Jerilyn McIntyre indicated that Luce and Hutchins together chose the commissioners, but she did not expand on this departure from the prevailing notion that Hutchins alone selected and ran the commission.[4] The many biographies and histories of Luce and his organizations have revealed virtually nothing about Luce's involvement with the commission besides his sponsorship and his philosophical perception of the commission's role.[5]

Henry Luce

The role of Henry Luce in the creation of the Hutchins Commission is illuminated, at least in part, by the publisher's passions, some of which began in his childhood. Luce's childhood is well documented in the numerous histories of both Time Inc. and its founder. They reveal a boy affected by the deep conviction of his missionary parents that God had entrusted Americans to spread Christianity and democracy throughout the world.[6] His deep loyalty to the United States and traditional American values was evident throughout his childhood in China and his years at Yale University. By adulthood, Luce had thoroughly integrated the idea of moral leadership into his life. Time Inc. was in business, he believed, not only to make money but also to make a difference in society, in domestic and world affairs and in people's lives.[7] He believed that democratic ideals and journalism could be successfully merged.

While Luce freely acknowledged his control of the editorial content of his magazines and never advanced pretenses of objectivity, he also believed in the marketplace of ideas concept.[8] He assumed that through discourse and debate the staff of Time Inc., composed largely of Ivy League graduates like himself, would view the world as he did.[9] In fact, much of what ultimately went into Time was what staff members believed was Luce's ideology, but because Luce found it inconceivable that men who merited his respect would bow to his judgment merely because they happened to work for him, he believed that the collective wisdom of his staff had produced a consensus. At the root of Luce's lifelong affinity for group decision-making was his belief that consensus was greater than the knowledge of any one man. It was therefore singularly important for Luce to think that his colleagues shared his point of view rather than acquiesced in it.

Partly because he believed in the ability of his staff to see the world as he did, a journalistic style emerged at Time that resulted in one collective, authoritative voice instead of individual, identifiable ones. Correspondents' dispatches were rewritten in the lively, pun-laced style referred to as "Time-ese." The result, employees joked, was "the way God would write if He had all that facts."[10]

One benefit of group journalism to staff members was the ease with which their copy could project what they believed was Luce's point of view, and the result was that Luce's opinions were often clearly discernible in the tone and analysis of his magazines. Business Week explained that Time "operates on the Luce formula, covers the Luce interests, writes in the Luce style, reflects the Luce slant."[11] Yet Luce was often frustrated when his magazines did not pursue matters in the way he wanted, and eventually he came to believe that the publication of his opinion was not only an expression of truth, but necessary for the very survival of western democracy.[12]

Luce's published opinions concerning the role of the United States as a democratic world leader became increasingly strident. In an article in The Saturday Review of Literature in October 1928, Luce declared the U.S. Constitution to be "unsuited to the present needs and temperament of the American people," and he called for a constitutional convention.[13] A new constitution, he wrote, would match the needs of a modern state with those of a modern capitalistic system.[14] Inspired by the perennial desire to assemble great minds to ascertain "truths," Luce wrote that

> a constitutional convention would bring together the greatest financial and industrial geniuses, the elder statesmen, lawyers, doctors, ministers, engineers, and whatever we have in the way of political philosophers.[15]

But Luce's strong opinions also brought turmoil to Time Inc. By 1938, members of the editorial staff of Time and Fortune were becoming mutinous over what they perceived as Luce's tight rein. Although somewhat bewildered by this, Luce decided that the creation of an editorial policy would alleviate the tension.[16] In typical Lucean fashion, he invited 13 of his senior associates to dinner to seek their collective support for establishing an editorial policy. Later he sent each a 17-page memorandum in which he wrote that while Time Inc. "does not have and does not propose ever to have any formal creed," within the last year he had made a number of speeches reflecting his attitude toward journalism, contemporary political issues, and truth and morality that he wanted them to reread. They were then to "ask themselves if there was anything in them to which they would seriously object." With a consensus of acceptance of these statements, he wrote, "the first and major policy of the company [would be] to see to it that these policies and attitudes are exemplified to the best of our abilities in our work."[17] According to Time executive Roy Larsen, most of the staff took that to mean "that Harry was laying down the word and you either accepted it or you didn't and if you didn't, you could get out."[18]

Dissatisfied with the staff's reaction, Luce decided that staff members should meet Friday mornings in his office to discuss what he considered to be the responsibilities of the editors and writers.[19] Like Luce's other attempts to employ democratic methods for business purposes, this plan was doomed. The Policy Committee met for a while and was then disbanded.[20]

In March 1939 Luce introduced the Fortune Round Table. Its purpose was to bring together prominent people to discuss issues that "Time Inc." considered to be "worthy of attention." Its underlying idea, according to Fortune, was that "Americans, no matter how embroiled in controversy, . . . can speak as one man upon certain fundamental principles."[21] This "one man," not surprisingly, sounded much like Luce, often promoting interventionism and a more dynamic and socially responsible government.[22]

In September 1939 Luce resigned as president and chief executive officer of Time Inc., but he kept the titles of board chairman and editor-in-chief. As his attention focused on the editorial content of Time, Fortune and Life, his political concerns increased.[23] An integral part of his concern involved the role of journalism in modern society. "The present crisis in world affairs," he said in a speech, "may be described as a crisis in journalism."[24] In speeches and articles he persisted: there must be press freedom throughout the world so (informed) people can govern themselves.[25] To Luce, journalism was the cornerstone of democracy.

In 1940 Luce returned from a trip to Europe even more convinced than before that the United States must aid the allies in the conflict with Hitler. In a speech on radio station WABC in June, he appealed for a change from isolationism to interventionism, arguing that basic American values were threatened by the conflict in Europe.[26]

Shortly thereafter, in February 1941, Luce wrote "The American Century," an editorial in Life calling on the United States to take its place as moral leader of the world. The only chance to make democracy work, he wrote, was "in terms of a vital international economy and in terms of an international moral order." Luce's mission to guide the United States to its destiny soon infused him with a sense of purpose that appealed to his missionary zeal and his love for America. Additional interventionist articles appeared in Fortune and Life, presenting Lucean interpretations of events and issues in Europe as facts and concluding that America must rearm and improve government-business ties so that its destiny as world leader could be attained.[27] For Luce, business meant journalism.

By 1942 Luce possessed enormous political and professional power. Few people could escape his scrutiny or his disparagement if he was of a different opinion. When Luce wanted something, little could stop him. And it was not characteristic of Luce to simply wait. If journalism were to lead the United States into the American Century, Luce would be its guidon.

The Commission on Freedom of the Press

The final report of the Hutchins Commission contains what has long been accepted as the definitive explanation of the creation of the commission. In the foreword, Hutchins wrote

> In December, 1942, Henry R. Luce, of Time Inc., suggested to me an inquiry into the present state and future prospects of the freedom of the press. A year later this commission, whose members were selected by me, began its deliberations.[28]

According to this account, Luce first suggested the inquiry in December 1942, and the commissioners who began meeting in late 1943 were chosen by Hutchins.[29] But another statement written by Hutchins offers a different account. It says

> The Commission on the Freedom of the Press originated in discussions between Henry R. Luce and me, which began in December 1942 and culminated in the suggestion made to me by Mr. Luce in November 1943, that a commission of inquiry be established. This suggestion was made at a meeting of the Board of Directors of Encyclopaedia Britannica Inc., of which Mr. Luce and I are members.[30]

This statement indicates that the formation of a commission to study freedom of the press was not proposed before November 1943. In McIntyre's study, the discrepancy between the two accounts is acknowledged, and a footnote states that there could be reason to doubt the November 1943 date. The "Hutchins papers," McIntyre explains, "include organizational correspondence dated October of that year."[31]

Other accounts of the commission's formation are inexact. W.A. Swanberg's version in Luce and His Empire says that Luce established and financed the "Commission of Inquiry on Freedom of the Press" but that the commissioners were "selected by his friend (Yale '22)," Hutchins.[32] Contemporary announcements in the media also credited Hutchins with selection of the commissioners. The March 4, 1944, Editor and Publisher, for example, explained that "Dr. Hutchins, who appointed the commission of educators, business leaders and lawyers, has accepted the chairmanship, which will contain no members of the press."[33] A study by Margaret Blanchard suggests that Luce had little or nothing to do with the commission apart from financing it. In Blanchard's words,

> Hutchins explained that Henry R. Luce was putting up $200,000 to finance the inquiry but that Luce would have no control over the Commission. . . . Hutchins himself would name Commission members and would supervise their activities . . .[34]

Similarly, in its announcement of the inquiry in its March 6, 1944, issue, Time attributed all information concerning the commission to "Chairman Hutchins," offered no explanation of how the members were selected and said nothing about Luce's involvement.[35] The magazine said only that, according to Hutchins, the inquiry "was made possible by a grant of funds by Time Inc., publisher of Time, Life, and Fortune," and that Hutchins had "emphasized that Time Inc. would have no connection with the commission, on which the working press is not represented."[36] Even Time Inc.'s "official" two-volume biography provides no more than Luce's account of the philosophical rationale for the commission's conception.[37] Finally, James L. Baughman's biography of Luce, Henry R. Luce and The Rise of The American News Media, explains that Time Inc. financed the commission, but offers no further explanation of Luce's involvement or how the commissioners were chosen.[38]

Except for McIntyre, researchers have failed to question Hutchins' explanation of the commission's formation and have therefore overlooked Luce's role in the selection of the commissioners and participation in the commission's earliest meetings.

Selection of Commissioners

On October 25, 1943, Luce wrote Hutchins concerning the selection of commissioners. He said,

> I think Learned Hand is a good idea. [Zechariah] Chafee also. I don't know about [Ray] Fosdick and have some doubts about my friend [Thurman] Arnold.[39]

In Hutchins' handwriting on the side of the letter were the names [Walter] Lippmann, [Charles] Merriam, [Lawrence] Fly, [Archibald] MacLeish, [Harry] Rubicam, [Kurt] Riezler and Lippmann (again). Of those listed, Merriam, MacLeish and Riezler were to serve as commissioners or advisors for the commission.[40]

Attached to the letter, in the transcript of a telephone discussion between Hutchins and Luce concerning the selection of commissioners, was a list with two headings: one labeled RMH (Robert M. Hutchins) and the other HRL (Henry R. Luce). On Hutchins' side appeared 17 names, some followed by question marks, others with a school affiliation or a brief description. On Luce's side, following some of the names, were underlined yeses. These people became commissioners. One name, [Carl] Friedrich, was followed by a capitalized NO. Friedrich, a professor of government at Harvard, would not become a commissioner.[41] Of the 17 men listed, William Hocking, Charles Merriam, Harold Lasswell, Archibald MacLeish, Reinhold Niebuhr, Hu Shih and Zechariah Chafee, Jr. served on the commission.

This list may indicate that Hutchins did little more than suggest possible commissioners and Luce decided which to invite. Or it could suggest that Hutchins selected the individuals and Luce had veto power. In either case, Hutchins clearly did not work alone in choosing the commissioners.

The final paragraph on the page was headed "RMH." It offers an express account of Luce's involvement. In Hutchins' words,

> I understand I am authorized to proceed to sign up the Commission -- that is, as to names we have agreed on. I shall submit additional names. This may cost you $60,000 a year for two years.[42]

Four days later, Hutchins wrote to Luce and asked, "What do you think of Walter Lippmann and Lawrence Fly?" and said that he hoped to have a conversation with MacLeish (presumably to ask him to participate). The last sentence of the letter again indicates that Luce was directly involved in the selection of the commissioners. "It is possible," Hutchins wrote, "that some of the men upon whom we have already agreed would have valuable suggestions of other men."[43]

In the margin of this letter Hutchins made another list of possible commission participants. Ten of the 16 listed were to become commissioners or advisors. Possibly awaiting

Luce's judgment, the last four names were followed by question marks.[44]

By November 30 the selection was nearly complete and Hutchins had telegraphed each prospective commissioner with an invitation to participate.

Several journalists were included as potential commission members in the initial selection process.[45] McIntyre acknowledged that Hutchins and Luce initially considered inviting Walter Lippmann, advertising executive Chester Bowles and Federal Communications Commission Chairman Lawrence Fly. Also considered were Walter Millis, Frank Luther Mott, and George H. Soule, Kent Cooper, William Paley, Marshall Field and Eugene Meyer.[46] In addition, "Time staff" was listed along with other prospective commissioners in Hutchins' October 29, 1943, letter to Luce, probably referring to the Time representatives who attended the first meetings: Luce, Eric Hodgins, and Sanford Cooper.[47]

Luce also attended the second meeting of the commission in January 1944, and Luce and Hodgins attended the third meeting during late March and early April 1944. By September 1944, however, Time Inc. representatives, including Luce, had stopped attending, and Luce's involvement with the commission was defined in the meeting minutes:

> Mr. Henry Luce is invited to be present at cocktails and dinner Monday, but will not attend meetings of the

> Commission except when he appears by invitation to testify, or for other special occasions.[48]

Despite the commission's insistence that no members of the working press were connected with the commission,[49] discussion about including members of the press continued for several months after meetings began. In a lengthy letter to Hutchins in February 1944, commission staff member Robert Leigh explained why Luce should be an "observer-participant rather than member" of the commission. He wrote:

> The basis for membership in the Commission appears to be (a) standing in the American community based on recognized achievements, (b) vital interest in the problems which the Commission is attacking and some real background and judgment for contributing to their analysis, (c) no connection with particular newspaper, radio, or telecommunications enterprises which would limit the independence or range of the Commission's conclusions.[50]

On this basis, Leigh observed, Luce was clearly disqualified from being a commission member. In addition, Leigh felt that, should Luce be included as a member, "it would seem to me that the Commission could fairly be charged with a bias in its constitution," and he suggested instead five well-known journalists who could serve as members. In any case, Leigh agreed with Hutchins that Luce should attend the meetings.

> I should think it important, as you do, that at the Commission's invitation he sit with it at all its sessions rather than at one or two only, as will be the case of other representatives of the great agencies of communication.[51]

Not all commissioners agreed, however. Lasswell guessed that, following the first meetings, Luce and Hodgins "will be tactful enough to abstain after public announcement is made of the Commission."[52] In response, Hutchins explained why Luce should be allowed to continue attending the meetings:

> He is being educated by them. This may be the chief result of his expenditure. I hate to deprive him of the opportunity unless you think his presence is embarrassing to the Commission.[53]

In June, Hodgins, then editorial vice president of Time Inc., wrote to Hutchins:

> Last Friday at a TIME Inc. Executive Committee meeting Harry [Luce] reported on his proposal to you that there should be, on reconsideration, perhaps two members of the working press as additional members of the Commission.[54]

Although Luce's proposal was rejected, the connection between Time Inc. and the commission's activities is apparent in this correspondence.

At the same executive meeting, Hodgins proposed that the commission's draft report be submitted to a "Journalistic Board of Review" so that

> once published, [the report] would be received by the working press as something which, although not the product of the press, had had the benefit of scrutiny by a journalistic group before our philosophers gave it to the world.[55]

Hodgins assured Hutchins that "nothing need be done about this idea at such an early date," but he asked what Hutchins thought of the proposal.

The Last Word

In November 1946 Luce wrote to Hutchins with his evaluation of the final report of the Commission on Freedom of the Press. Luce said that he liked best the report's concluding chapter on recommendations and liked least the analysis of the status of the press. The commission obviously did not share Luce's view of the role of journalism. He described the report's findings as "elementary, naive, superficial, uncritical and obsolete." For the commissioners' general philosophical treatment of the subject, Luce gave them a "C and no more." He said:

> In this area, which I regard as the most important of all, I believe that each member of the Commission could have done a better job by himself than has been done for or by the whole Commission. This illustrates, at a very high level, what is perhaps the very heart of our modern dilemma -- the inability to be effectively ecumenical.[56]

Luce asked Hutchins to call a special meeting of the commission "in which I may present my full opinion of the Report, together with a plea that the job is worth doing better."[57] Should Hutchins decide against this plan, Luce explained, any previous mention of publication of the report in a Time Inc. publication should be "expunged" from the record, and he would take the report "as is and give it all the publicity in magazine form which I think it deserves and will arrange for its availability in entirety, through book publication or otherwise."

A few days later, commissioner Reinhold Niebuhr wrote Hutchins that he had had a long talk with Luce about the report. Luce's main criticism, he wrote, was

> that he thinks that the report would be more challenging if the conclusions at which we arrive were pointed up so that they would be more challenging, the conclusion particularly, that since there is no legal way of enforcing the responsibility of the press without destroying its freedom, there must be a tremendous burden upon the conscience of those who control the press.[58]

Niebuhr added: "I don't know whether it is advisable to have a meeting with him or not." He recommended in a postscript that Hutchins and four or five of the commissioners meet with Luce informally. "The more I think of an official meeting the more dubious I am," he concluded.[59]

A special meeting of the commission was not called, and Luce published the report as a supplement in the April 1947 issue of Fortune.[60] The report was accompanied by an editorial expressing disappointment in the superficiality of what the Commission had produced. Luce would later publicly praise the commission's efforts, but his private letter to Hutchins in November 1946 offered little more than contempt for the work of the commission.

It is possible that Luce's rejection was a response to opinion with which he disagreed. He had not anticipated the independence of the intellectuals on the commission and was clearly disappointed that they had concentrated on policy-making rather than on the more philosophical aspects of journalism that he had specified. Although it is unlikely, he may also have believed that an endorsement of the commission's findings could undermine the ultimate public opinion of the report. Time Inc. was considered by many to be strongly biased, and unqualified approval of the commission's report by its sponsor could diminish its significance.[61]

On April 1, 1947, Luce wrote Hutchins and enclosed a copy of a letter he had sent to each member of the commission. In the cover letter, Luce wrote, "To you, personally, I have nothing to add except my expression of highest personal esteem." To the commissioners, Luce wrote:

> . . . I would like to express to each of the members of the Commission something of my personal feelings about the task which you have done.
>
> My principal feeling is one of very great gratitude to all the members of the Commission. . . .
>
> I am happy to see that, in general, the Report was so well received. And it seems to me the Report deserved this good reception -- my concurrence with the criticisms expressed in FORTUNE notwithstanding.
>
> In short, I believe you have performed a real service to The Press and to the cause of Freedom. It is a great honor for me, and for TIME INC., to have been associated in any capacity with you in such a distinguished effort. The serious concern for Freedom manifested in your Report is surely one good reason for believing that ten years from now Freedom will be more strongly established in the hearts and minds of men.[62]

It is difficult to determine what Luce's letter to the commissioners signified. Considering the degree of animosity generated by Luce by this time, it is altogether possible that he postmarked his letter on April Fool's Day deliberately. But it seems likely that Luce simply bowed out of the entire affair quickly and as gracefully as possible.

There is little doubt that Luce was directly involved in the selection of the commission participants. It also appears that effort was made to conceal Luce's involvement -- perhaps to minimize the possibility of the commission's being seen as another Lucean mouthpiece. In any event, the accounts of Luce's role that were attributed to Hutchins are clearly contradicted by documents attributable to Hutchins.

Assembling a group of intellectuals to examine freedom of the press could have been expected of Luce. He was deeply concerned with the responsibilities of the press as an agent of freedom during and after World War II. He genuinely believed that an unrestricted flow of information was fundamental to the survival of free societies, and his interest in promoting the United States and democracy provided ample inspiration for sponsoring the commission. His belief in the ability of intelligent (and like-minded) people to jointly ascertain truths also provided great impetus. In addition, his fascination with famous people and provocative information would have made an association with some of the country's greatest minds virtually irresistible.

In the end, Luce's influence was clearly discernible in the casting and convictions of the Hutchins Commission. It is unmistakably clear that the commission members were politically and culturally, if not philosophically, akin to

Luce.[63] The result was a final report imbued with Luce's concern for "moral order" -- a phrase that embraced his belief that American journalists should abet the imposition of democratic ideals on the world. The report was a reaffirmation of the role of journalism in the American political system and of the democratic system in general. Social responsibility, while not the philosophical aphorism Luce had envisioned, was a proposal to reconcile democratic ideals with the realities of twentieth-century journalism.

NOTES

HUC - represents Robert M. Hutchins Papers, Special Collections, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

CFP - represents Commission on Freedom of the Press Papers, Special Collections, Joseph Regenstein Library, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

[1] Robert Hutchins to Roy Larsen, 29 October 1946, HUC. Hutchins and Luce were both students at Yale and considered each other friends.

On July 31, 1933, the comma between Time and incorporated, which had originally appeared in the legal document establishing the Time Inc. corporation, was declared "taboo" in a memo from Luce.

[2] The commission held an initial meeting in December 1943 and then 17 two- and three-day meetings. Members completed four volumes involving issues discussed by the commission. They were: Peoples Speaking to Peoples: A Report on International Mass Communication, by Llewellyn White and Robert D. Leigh (1946); Freedom of the Movies: A Report on Self-Regulation, by Ruth A. Inglis (1947); The American Radio, by Llewellyn White (1947); and Government and Mass Communications, by Zechariah Chafee, Jr. (1947). Two other projects were planned but never published -- by Milton Stewart and Harold Lasswell, and by John Grierson.

[3] Robert Hutchins to Walter Lippmann, 5 November 1946, HUC; Time Inc. sponsored the commission through June 30, 1946, for $200,000. The final $15,000 came from Encyclopaedia Britannica.

[4] Margaret Blanchard, "The Hutchins Commission, The Press and the Responsibility Concept," Journalism Monographs No. 49 (Minneapolis: Association for Education in Journalism, May, 1977); Barbara Hartung, "Attitudes Toward the Applicability of the Hutchins Report on Press Responsibility," Journalism Quarterly 58: 428-433; Jerilyn McIntyre, "Repositioning A Landmark: The Hutchins Commission and Freedom of the Press." Critical Studies in Mass Communication 4(1987); Harvey Saalberg, "The Canons of Journalism: A 50-Year Perspective." Journalism Quarterly 50:731-734; and Robert A. Rutland Newsmongers: Journalism is the Life of the Nation, 1690-1972 (New York: The Dial Press, 1973).

[5] Biographies of Luce and Time Inc. include: James Baughman, Luce and the Rise of the American News Media (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1987), which provides the most scholarly account of Luce but is limited by Time Inc.'s restriction on its archives; Robert Elson, Time, Inc.: The Intimate History of a Publishing Enterprise, 2 vols. (New York: Atheneum, 1968), which offers accounts replete with memorandum excerpts and correspondence but is incomplete in some areas; John Kobler, Luce: His Time, Life and Fortune, (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1968), a book based on interviews and undocumented sources but containing no index, footnotes, or bibliography; and W.A. Swanberg, Luce and His Empire, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), a Pulitzer Prize-winner that provides an exciting account of Luce's life but is frequently in error. Swanberg incorrectly names the commission, credits Hutchins with selection of the members, and states that Luce and Hutchins were graduates of the Yale class of 1922 (Luce graduated in 1920, Hutchins finished undergraduate requirements during his junior year in 1920 but stayed to take law courses during the 1921 school year).

[6] W.A. Swanberg, Luce and His Empire (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1972), 19-20.

[7] John A. Meyers, "A Letter From the Publisher," Time, 12 December 1983, 5.

[8] Luce dismissed arguments for objectivity as meaningless platitudes but was concerned with the idea of fairness. In Kobler's biography of Luce he was quoted as saying, "[Briton] Hadden and I invented Time. Therefore we had a right to say what it would be. We're not fooling anybody. Our readers know where we stand."

[9] Of Time's first 20 editors, writers, and business managers, fourteen were Yale graduates and two were from Harvard.

[10] Charles Champlin, "Last Echo of a Voice Gone Still," Los Angeles Time, 15 December 1988.

[11] "Time, Inc.: In 25 Years, a Publishing Empire," Business Week, 6 March 1948, 97.

[12] In a 1940 letter to Luce, Fortune publisher Eric Hodgins explained that he was feared by his employees and they were afraid to engage him in conversation and often simply guessed what his opinion about a matter might be.

Thomas Stewart, "The New American Century; Where We Stand," Fortune, 10 June 1991, 12.

[13] Henry R. Luce, "Let It Die," The Saturday Review of Literature, 27 October 1928, 297.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Elson, Time, Inc.: Vol. 1, 355.

[17] Ibid., 357.

[18] Ibid., 360.

[19] Ibid. Luce began to formulate an editorial policy for his magazines, a process carried forward through the whole of 1938.

[20] Ibid., 361.

[21] Ibid., 385.

[22] Baughman, Luce and the Rise, 114.

[23] Elson, Time, Inc.: Vol. 1, 413.

[24] Elson, Time Inc. pp. 244-245.

[25] Luce's concern about freedom of the press was apparent. See, for example, Editor & Publisher, (8 April 1944), pp. 7, 56; Saturday Review (7 March 1931).

[26] Current Biography (1941), 531; Henry R. Luce, "We Must Not Falter Now," Vital Speeches of the Day, 17 June 1940, 523.

[27] Epstein, "Henry Luce and His Time," 39.

[28] Robert Leigh, A Free and Responsible Press, with a foreword by Robert Hutchins (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1947).

[29] This explanation also appears in a memorandum by Zechariah Chafee, Jr., October, 1947, HUC.

[30] Robert Hutchins, undated, HUC. This was written after funding by Time Inc. ran out in June 1946.

[31] McIntyre, "Repositioning A Landmark," 138.

[32] The commission's name and the year Luce and Hutchins graduated are incorrect.

[33] "New Commission to Study Press Freedom," Editor and Publisher (March 4, 1944), 22.

[34] Blanchard, "The Hutchins Commission, The Press and the Responsibility Concept," 12.

[35] Time, "Freedom in Our Time," 6 March 1944, 47.

[36] Ibid. This wording originated in a press release disseminated by the University of Chicago Office of Press Relations, 26 February 1944.

[37] Robert Elson, Time Inc.: The Intimate History of a Publishing Enterprise, 2 vols. (New York: Atheneum, 1968).

[38] Baughman, Luce and the Rise, 174. An earlier biography, John Kobler's Luce: His Time, Life and Fortune (1967), makes no mention of the commission at all.

[39] Luce was well acquainted with most of the commissioners. A quick examination of the commission members reveals a number of similarities. Many of them were former government officials and were dedicated to the public service ideals that had taken hold among intellectuals from the Progressive Era onward. Several of them (MacLeish, Ruml, Lasswell, Clark, Schlesinger, Dickinson, Merriam, Shuster and staff members Leigh and White) were at the onset of the commission's meetings consultants or staff members for various New Deal agencies.

Eleven of the commissioners were graduates of Yale, Harvard or Columbia University. But most important, perhaps, was the association of more than half of the commissioners with the University of Chicago and the philosophy of John Dewey.

[40] Luce to Hutchins, 25 October 1943, HUC.

Commissioners included: Robert M. Hutchins, Zechariah Chafee, Jr., John M. Clark, John Dickinson, William E. Hocking, Harold D. Lasswell, Archibald MacLeish, Charles E. Merriam, Reinhold Niebuhr, Robert Redfield, Beardsley Ruml, Arthur M. Schlesinger and George N. Shuster. Advisors were: John Grierson, Hu Shih, Jacques Maritain and Kurt Riezler.

[41] Ibid., 2; The seventeen people listed were: William Hocking, professor emeritus of philosophy at Harvard University; Richard McKeon, professor of philosophy at the University of Chicago; Charles Merriam, professor emeritus of political science at the University of Chicago; Carl Friedrich, professor of government at Harvard; Harold D.

Lasswell, political scientist, at the time employed by the Library of Congress in the experimental division for war communications; Archibald MacLeish, poet, at the time Librarian of Congress and briefly an assistant secretary of state; Harry Rubicam, Time Inc. publicist; Charles Beard, historian; Supreme Court Justices Stone and Douglas; Reinhold Niebuhr, professor of ethics and philosophy of religion at Union Theological Seminary; Hu Shih, former Chinese ambassador to the United States; Arnold Toynbee, British historian and educator; Ray Fosdick, president of the Rockefeller Foundation; Zechariah Chafee, Jr., professor of law at Columbia University and a scholar on freedom of speech and freedom of the press; federal Judge Learned Hand; District judge Thurman Arnold.

[42] Ibid.

[43] Hutchins to Luce, 29 October 1943, HUC.

[44] The 16 listed were Merriam, Redfield, MacLeish, Fosdick, Lippmann, Chafee, Harid, Hocking, Lasswell, Shuster, Hu Shih, Niebuhr, Rubicam, Fly, Riezler and Cohen.

[45] In addition, several commission members had considerable contact with the press, especially MacLeish. Among the foreign advisers, Grierson had been involved in motion pictures and Riezler had been on the editorial staff of the Frankfurter Zeitung.

[46] Soule was editor of The New Republic and author of A Planned Society (1932) and The Future of Liberty (1936). William Hutchins to Hutchins, 10 November 1943, HUC and Leigh to Hutchins, 20, February, 1944, HUC.

[47] Summary of Meeting, 15 December 1943, CFP.

[48] Summary of Meeting, 18-19 September 1944, CFP.

[49] University of Chicago Office of Press Relations press release, 26 February 1944, HUC. According to Hutchins "Time Inc. would have no connection with the Commission, which will contain no members of the working press."

[50] Leigh to Hutchins, 20, February, 1944, HUC.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Lasswell to Hutchins, 24, February, 1944, HUC.

[53] Hutchins to Lasswell, 29, February, 1944, HUC.

[54] Hodgins to Hutchins, 28, June 1944, HUC.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Luce to Hutchins, 29 November 1947, HUC. Luce did not explain why he felt the report was "elementary, naive, superficial, uncritical," or "obsolete," and there has been no analysis of his criticisms in prior research.

[57] Ibid.

[58] Niebuhr to Hutchins, 5 December 1946, HUC.

[59] Ibid.

[60] In early December Niebuhr told Luce that Ed Weeks of Atlantic Monthly had offered to publish the entire report, sight unseen, in the February issue. According to Niebuhr, Luce "turned that down flat" and said he would publish at least 10,000 words of it in one of his magazines and would take care of making the whole report available either in pamphlet form or otherwise.

[61] See Blanchard, "The Hutchins Commission, The Press and the Responsibility Concept," for an account of the reaction by journalists to the commission's report.

[62] Luce to Hutchins, 1 April 1947, HUC.

[63] Paul Fackler's 1982 dissertation, "The Hutchins Commissioners and the Crisis in Democratic Theory, 1930-1947" argues that commission participants were not chosen for their philosophical similarities with *Hutchins*. Luce's role in the selection of commissioners is not addressed. See endnote 39 for further discussion.

'AUG 18

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Mary Margaret McBride, Talkshow Host
The Perfect Proxy for Radio Listeners

by

Beverly G. Merrick
Assistant Professor in Journalism

presented to

the Radio-TV Division
AEJMC National Convention
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August 1994

Abstract

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Title: **Mary Margaret McBride, Talkshow Host**
The Perfect Proxy for Radio Listeners

Everybody who heard Mary Margaret McBride on radio had something to say about her interviewing technique. Her earliest broadcasts in 1934, under the pseudonym Martha Deane over WOR (New Jersey), did not appeal to listeners. But there was something about McBride's on-air presence that made people come back for more. After only two years on the air, in 1936, Mary Margaret McBride was awarded a medal by the Women's National Exposition of the Arts and Industries for the year's "greatest contribution to radio." Now everybody was trying to discover what made McBride so good. The purpose of this paper is to explore the nature of her interviewing technique, spawned through her experience as a newspaper reporter. Many wrote about her style on the radio, some of them students of the medium, others who were just fascinated by the McBride phenomenon -- the ability to win over listeners.

Mary Margaret McBride, Talkshow Host

The Perfect Proxy for Radio Listeners

Everybody who heard Mary Margaret McBride on radio had something to say about her interviewing technique. Her earliest broadcasts in 1934, under the pseudonym Martha Deane over WOR (New Jersey), did not appeal to listeners. The early comments of radio columnists also were discouraging. Radio critic Ben Gross of the New York Daily News briefly mentioned Martha Deane in his daily column, saying she was *the worst* radio speaker he had ever heard [emphasis added].[1]

But there was something about McBride's on-air presence that made people come back for more. Gross said that after his initial aversion to the first broadcast he had listened to, he tuned in again a week later, "compelled no doubt by masochism."[2] However, there was more to the story than that. Years later, Gross said McBride's manager and personal friend, Estella Karn, had read his column. She subsequently came to his office and asked him to give McBride another chance.[3] Karn had promoted Paul Whiteman, Rudy Vallee, Vincent Lopez, the Pickens Sisters and other personalities who were heard over the radio.[4] She was not about to let "the promise" of her latest promotional project, get dismissed in so very comments.

Gross said that much to his surprise, after listening in again, he "had not the slightest desire to dial immediately to another station."[5] Gross said of McBride:

> Her words fascinated me! It became obvious that here was no

> ordinary female gabber; that she had a rich background of experience; that during her interviews she revealed hidden facets of her guests; that she had a store of amusing and entertaining anecdotes about the great and humble and, above all, she loved people. The next day I listened again and by the time another week had passed the Mary Margaret hour had become an addiction.[6]

So, in his next column in The Daily News, he reversed his initial criticism, devoting a whole paragraph to her, and saying: "Here is a great reporter, one who must be a first-rate newspaperwoman."[7] Although Gross then did not know the identity of Martha Deane, he advised listeners to tune in during the early afternoons.[8]

Gross said he later learned that "those few vagrant sentences" tossed off between editions apparently saved her job for her. McBride subsequently revealed that WOR executives had decided to fire her because she did not have "a good radio personality."[9] Ironically, after Martha Deane became a household word, one of those same executives at WOR, Ted Streibert, would claim to have outguessed those early "experts," the radio columnists who called her technique deadly and her voice impossible.[10]

After only two years on the air, in 1936, Mary Margaret McBride was awarded a medal by the Women's National Exposition of the Arts and Industries for the year's "greatest contribution to radio."[11] The award was based on her being the most listened-to woman on radio.[12] There were numerous Martha Deane imitators.[13] Now everybody was trying to discover what made McBride so good.

The purpose of this paper is to explore the nature of her interviewing techniques. Many wrote about her style on the radio, some of them students of the medium, others who were just fascinated by the McBride phenomenon -- the ability to win over listeners. Because so many were fascinated by her, they often visited the studio to see what was happening. The radio critics, newspaper reporters, magazine writers and broadcasters began to comment on her methods. Now, those methods were widely disseminated, and with some depth. From those early and later appraisals, one can discern the underlying principles behind the popularity of a talkshow.

Ironically, at WOR, "Mary Deane" had been given the so-called dead-time on the air, the time during which no one was supposed to be listening -- 2:30 to 3:30 p.m.[14] Later, the increasingly popular McBride program would move to an earlier afternoon spot on network radio (usually heard 1 to 2 p.m., EST): 1937 to 1941, for CBS; 1941 to 1950, the flagship station of WEAF (superseded by the call letters WNBC) for NBC; and 1951 to 1954, WJZ, for ABC.

Apparently, after arriving in the studio and greeting the live audience of 60 or so, McBride sat down behind a battered antique table, winding her legs around the side rungs of her chair and hooking her feet,[15] as if to anchor herself to one position. McBride then visibly braced up for the interview, facing her guest, who usually sat across the table. During the interview itself, McBride referred to a pile of notes she had drafted herself and drank water poured from a battered green thermos.[16] As McBride hunched forward on her elbows, hands clenched into tight fists, she sat tensely, eyes fixed full on her guest's face.[17]

The audience might have been quite unaware of her nervousness. Barbara Heggie, who wrote two articles about McBride's radio program, one for The New Yorker and one for the Woman's Home Companion, said the art of McBride's informal interviewing technique was deceptive:[18]

> The studio audience that sees Mary Margaret up on the platform joking, say, with John Mason Brown, the dramatic critic, is quite unaware that the back of her dress may be wringing wet from the strain of ad-libbing sixty minutes of witty small talk -- she forbids both script and rehearsal as destructive to that lighthearted spontaneity which is one of the most engaging qualities of her program.[19]

The secret of the popularity of her programs was that McBride rather would ad lib than be held to a prepared script,[20] which early radio shows were often wont to do. She said a person who really knows his or her subject doesn't need a script.[21] Nor did McBride allow anyone else to bring notes to her broadcast.[22] She once threw the note cards of guest John Golden on the floor after he tried to use them. She explained: "While I got exactly what I wanted from him, he got in all his projects too."[23]

Production people at the radio station reportedly complained about her tendency to ad-lib.[24] However, it was apparent McBride knew what was happening in the greater lives of her subjects, *before* sitting down with them at the broadcast table. Much of her time was spent in preparation, out of the studio, researching the guest. She apparently prepared for the interview much like someone studies for an exam. She also had several reporters organized on city desk lines,[25] who helped her do her homework.[26] Apparently, she used her notes as a general guide, much like a newspaper reporter refers to notes in an interview.

Even so McBride was not afraid to go where her mind would take her even if others thought she wandered away from the subject at hand. It was only important to her that she understood the connection. Decades later, communication researchers into gender would talk about the tendency of women to think holistically, in clusters, while men tend to think along linear lines. McBride ran true to form; like most women, she was truly an associative thinker. A critical radio reviewer, who thought along more linear lines, called her a "rudderless" radio chatterbox who "ignored all rules of radio form and dignity."[27] The writer said McBride let unfinished sentences dangle in mid-air, gossiping about everything "from cheesecake to the color of an Arctic explorer's beard."[28] Perhaps the reviewer should have gone back for more -- like Ben Gross.

McBride apparently felt locking herself into a script would restrict her in some way, much like a reporter is restricted if he or she sticks to a prepared set of questions. Every good journalist is taught how important it is to go with intuition in the interview if one is to get to the real story. And, as an early graduate of the Missouri School of Journalism, McBride had been trained as a reporter. In her own fictionalized work about a talkshow host," called Tune in for Mary Elizabeth, McBride wrote about the task of an interviewer. The talkshow host in the book said:

> Please believe me when I insist that I've no set idea what I'm going to say when I meet my subjects across from the microphone. And believe me, too, when I tell you that I'm as tense as any ingenue before each broadcast.[29]

Another criticism of McBride's technique was her homespun style of talking. Perhaps charges of being "unrehearsed" are only a way of criticizing her "informal" presentation. Not the typical New Yorker, McBride digressed like a Missouri farmer does after chores, while leaning over coffee cups to talk to a neighbor; the voice tends to ramble as the eye sweeps the barnyard -- taking care of business. The farmer can't be hurried. The neighbor learns to listen and wait.

At a radio conference, McBride once alluded to her informal style of talking on the air: "one sentence can sell more than a whole mess of words."[30] A curious reporter who attended the conference began to listen to her broadcasts with the sole purpose of learning more about that "whole mess of words." He made notes on the way she structured sentences. Shortly thereafter, the he recorded what McBride said on the air:

> I get very disappointed and really provoked at you all when a lot of you don't respond after I tell you that all you have to do to get those two-inch embroidered initials that the bakers of Tip Top bread have for you is just to write your name and address on a postcard to me and add the two initials you want, the color, red on white, and the name and address of the dealer who sees you enriched Tip Top bread.
>
> There, you see, it's easy.[31]

But one of McBride's rivals on radio, who read that criticism, said, "You have to be a professional to realize the terrific genius behind that careless informality."[32]

In fact, Lucy Freeman [then Greenbaum] of The New York Times suggests McBride even critical of herself. Freeman said McBride's Midwestern provincial manner was deceptive. She said McBride did not have to apologize for fumbling over the pronunciation of a word that "would trip up one-quarter of the population."[33] On the air, McBride continued to abnegate her own radio voice. She told Barbara Heggie of The New Yorker, "Maybe I'm corny, but if I am, I can't help myself."[34] To Freeman, McBride said:

> When I sound dumb, it's because I am dumb. When I get emotional--some have called it corny, others gooey--I honestly feel that way. It doesn't mean that I think there's anything praiseworthy about not knowing a fact, a theory, the pronunciation of a word or whatever, and I don't approve of over-emotional gushy females. When I behave either way on the air, I deplore it, but I could not take dumbness or ignorance any more than I could pretend knowledge I don't have, any attitudes I don't feel.[35]

Nor was the strength of McBride's programming *the sound* of her radio voice. Even though many of her listeners wrote to say they liked it.[36] Even though McBride once remarked that more than one radio listener wrote to tell her that the two most wonderful voices on the air were FDR's and Martha Deane's.[37]

McBride, in fact, hated to listen to recordings of her voice.[38] Jay Nelson Tuck, radio columnist for the New York Evening Post hated her "flat, mid-Western voice," which his Eastern ear did not find at all pleasing.[39] Ben Gross said McBride's voice could only be described as "a high-pitched rural twang" in a time when radio speakers were judged for their diction.[40] After hearing McBride the first time, Gross said:

> I told my readers Mary Margaret McBride was, without question, the worst speaker I had ever come across on the radio. Her material was adequate, I deigned to admit, but "oh, what idiosyncracies!"

Apparently many agreed that her voice was less than desirable. Another reporter called her voice fluttery, indecisive and school-girlish.[41] Still, the sound of her voice had a fundamental appeal because it said something about the woman herself. An article in Life magazine noted:

> Mary Margaret's stock in trade is innocence. Those who know her only through her voice -- girlish, hesitant, often bewildered -- picture her as a demure adolescent with pigtails, spotless in her calico, watching the parade of life with bright, wide eyes. Those who view her in person, although forced instantly to revise their estimate as to size, retain their original feeling as to quality. . . . Built along the broad general lines of Kate Smith, she has artfully preserved an air of a little girl lost in the big city.[42]

Estella Karn -- to add insult to injury -- told McBride in her own blunt way that she, Fred Allen and Jack Benny had the *worst* [emphasis added by McBride] three voices on the air.[43] McBride agreed with all the criticism. Karn once arranged for McBride to hear her own voice.[44] The talkshow host had looked forward to the prospect with pleasure, but after-the-fact wished she had not heard it. McBride said of the incident: "I shall never forget waking into that recording room and hearing a woman's voice. I thought, there's one of *those* women. Suddenly I recognized what she was saying."[45] Horrified at the sound, McBride asked, "Is *that my* voice?"[46] [emphasis added by McBride]

McBride later told Cynthia Lowry, a friend who wrote for the Associated Press and often appeared on her program, "My own voice was such a letdown I have never forgotten it."[47]

Gross said the mistake in judging McBride's voice was one that was often made in early broadcasting. Too many on the air were judged by their "pear-shaped" tones rather than for what they said:[48]

> This, despite the obvious fact that radio and TV abound in poorly

> paid staff announcers whose speech is technically superior to that of a Walter Winchell, an H.V. Kalterborn, a Quincy Howe or an Elmer Davis. But it is these commentators who win and hold millions of followers -- not through elegant diction or perfect enunciation, but because of what they impart to their listeners.[49]

Barbara Heggie suggested in The New Yorker that she did not so much disagree to the sound of McBride's voice as the diction. Heggie said McBride came across as a corn-fed ingenue.[50] Perhaps she was comparing McBride's on-air presence with that of Kate Smith's, and finding it wanting. Smith's voice could be described as "full-throated." She had a forthright manner of speaking.[51] She came across as earnest and sincere, whereas McBride came across as earnest and enthusiastic. Arthur Godfrey probably topped McBride in voice appeal. Godfrey's voice was considered "resonant and tinged with warm tones."[52] Critic Ben Gross said some listeners said Godfrey's voice had "an inherent magnetism."[53] Ironically, his voice -- like McBride's -- could have been characterized as corn-fed. He was once compared to Huck Finn in voice and demeanor."[54]

Godfrey's voice was certainly deeper, and deeper voices came across better on the radio frequencies. Perhaps too, McBride assumed the role of ingenue with a deliberate affectation. She just could not admit it to herself. However, radio critic Heggie said:

> Casual observers noting Miss McBride's habit of fluttering her plump hands when she talks and her way of being reduced to a state of twittering confusion by the slightest mishap, are likely to write off her phenomenal success in radio as simple the reward of a

> personality possessing mass appeal. Actually this dithery facade conceals one of the shrewdest minds in radio.[55] [Heggie also called Karn a "shrewd little woman."][56]

Elsa Maxwell, perhaps, best summed up McBride's style on the air: "corny but competent."[57] As one columnist noted, McBride was "a concentric combination of Missouri friendliness, Broadway bluntness and neighborly nosiness."[58] There was reflected in her speech patterns a unique juxtaposition of small-town-girl-makes-it-good-as-a-woman-in-the-big-city that was appealing.

Allen Churchill wrote in The American Mercury that only rarely did McBride encounter a guest who was antagonized rather than charmed by the naivete reflected in her interviewing style. If the guest reflected this attitude on the air, listeners called him or her to account. One guest offended by McBride's style, a wartime correspondent just back from the South Pacific, was rude to her on the air because she rambled on about a favorite recipe. Much to his chagrin, after he bid a cold farewell, he was accosted by angry studio listeners, who said, "How dare you be so nasty to our dear Mary Margaret."[59]

McBride sometimes received praise from the most unexpected quarters. Bob Lauter, a reporter for the New York Daily Worker,a socialist sheet, reluctantly admitted that her steady flow of banter and gab had "a certain hypnotic quality."[60] As Enid Haupt of the Movie-Radio Guide asked, wasn't it McBride's unusual voice and manner of speech that had attracted studio executives?[61] If they had not liked that voice, they would not have hired her in the first place.

Once her broadcasts became popular, schools of journalism in the greater metropolitan area of New York made her broadcasts required listening for their students."[62] Cynthia Lowry, who helped with programming ideas in the early shows and who later became a broadcast columnist, credited McBride with inventing the broadcast interview. She said McBride had turned electronic interviewing into a fine art."[63]

That art was centered around her one-the-air ability to totally focus on the guest before her, concentrating on that person, no matter what anyone else was thinking about her presentation or the course of the program. She told Lowry that there was no secret to her technique of interviewing: "I just try to think myself into the other person."[64] McBride said, "I don't know what it is about me, but during the hour I interview someone, no one else exists. I'm really interested, and I think the person feels it."[65]

McBride once said she must be interested only in the guest when she is on the air. She said: "I don't try to make a fool of myself but I don't care if I do. Later, if we play the program back and I hear myself being a fool, I hate it. But while I'm on the air nothing matters except for my guest . . . ."[66]

She was prepared to ask leading questions.[67] She said her goal was simple: to get her guest to reveal innermost thoughts.[68] McBride said the formula she used was basic: "On the air, I am that Good Listener the charm and personality counselors always urge you to be in order to hold your position, get your man or win an election."[69]

One reviewer criticized that she was *too* enthusiastic in her interviewing technique. The Time said that McBride reportedly replied "to almost any statement, by clasping her hands, pursing her lips, blinking her eyes and exclaiming: 'Goodness!'"[70]

Churchill said the radio commentator held her audience because she had a mind that was perpetually interested.[71] With a bit of introspection, McBride told Elsa Maxwell, "If I lose my enthusiasm for fresh and different experiences, my appetite for meeting new people, I'm lost."[72]

McBride once explained that her intense interest in people and topics contributed to her success as a radio talk show host:

> When you learn, by listening properly, to draw people out, new facets of personality are exposed, fascinating memories come to light, priceless stories are detailed, and confidences are given. So far, I haven't actually produced any extemporaneous confessions of murder over the air, but almost every other variety of revelation has come tumbling into the microphone from lips unsealed by my genuinely intense -- if professional -- interest.[73]

McBride had become the "perfect proxy"[74] for her listeners. She asked the hard questions that everyone wanted to ask; her reactions to the answers were that of her audience. She was acutely aware of her audience's needs. Her audience had told her what they liked. She had listened to them. McBride revealed her audience said she was different from some of those people on the air who patronize women. One listener wrote: "You never talk down, and you bring the whole world into my home."[75] As radio critic Jay Nelson Tuck said about McBride, "She doesn't assume that the listener is an escaped idiot who flunked out of kindergarten."[76]

And, many wanted to meet her -- and be interviewed by her. Critic Ben Gross said:

> There is hardly a famous political, literary, scientific, military, naval or diplomatic figure living in or visiting New York who does not appear on Mary Margaret's . . . show. Starting her interviews in

> what seems to be an offhand, almost naive manner, she turns a guest painlessly "inside out," eliciting information he or she would not ordinarily reveal to any other reporter.[77]

However, McBride said she usually preferred "the average man" for a guest: "They're my kind of interview. The average *man* is more interesting and more co-operative than the average woman -- but the *exceptional* woman is tops!"[78]

Apparently, McBride was a wonder to see when she got people -- the average person or more-than-the-average celebrity -- to share their innermost thoughts to an invisible radio audience. This a due in part to the fact that McBride did not treat all guests the same. Her most "unresearched" talent was understanding what it took to get the best possible story from the person sitting across the table from her. She realized that she had to adjust her manner of doing things to the manner of doing things demonstrated by her guest. McBride was an astute judge of people. She knew, almost intuitively what it would take to get her guests to be themselves.

Public accounts of her on-air radio presence promulgated anecdotally McBride's ability to get to the heart of a matter. Sometimes McBride would have the perfect guest, one who was interesting and who needed no prodding. Such as guest was like a lead horse on a Clydesdale team, which knows what has to be done. Therefore, the driver only has to provide a gentle nudge to get the team moving. On the day writer Mary Morris was in the studio audience, McBride interviewed a lady novelist. Morris said the novelist was a good smooth talker, and McBride "let her have her head for about 20 minutes,"[79] before she went to a commercial break. A less intuitive interviewer would have played a more active role, and the guest -- no doubt -- would have felt reined in.

Through this sixth sense, McBride adroitly brought out the uncommon attributes of well-known personalities. She had planned for a few laughs when she interviewed *Schnozzola* Jimmy Durante, who appeared on the McBride show "barking like a seal with a head cold."[80] Instead, as the interview progressed, it was apparent to McBride that Durante was thinking along different lines. McBride followed the verbal and non-verbal cues of her guest. As writer Barbara Heggie noted, Durante launched into "so pathetic a description of his poverty-stricken childhood that the two of them ended up the interview sobbing audibly."[81] Not one joke did one-liner Durante crack.[82]

McBride later talked about her interior dialogue during the famous interview. She remembered that Durante talked pensively about the time he played an piano accompaniment for Albert Einstein's violin at the Mirador in Palm Springs.[83] This led to the place where he was at in his private life at the time, worrying about a wife on her sick bed, and feeling bad that he could not be with her because he had to go on tour to keep bread on the table, and feeling worse still because he had not spent enough time with his wife during his lifelong career. McBride revealed what she was thinking about all during the interview, "Jimmy looked disconsolate, like a small child who doesn't know quite what he's been punished for, and all I could think of to do was to reach other and give him a hug."[84]

Another time, a studio executive fidgeted, as McBride touched on the theatrical jobs of Sally Rand, the fan dancer,[85] and elicited information about her childhood. Rand spoke sadly of a poverty-stricken youth in the Ozarks.[86] McBride said, Rand

> talked as tenderly and lyrically as a poet about the sudden pink of apple blossoms in the Missouri spring, summer nights in the

> country when you can hear a rhythmical insect chorus through the murmurous dark, the suppertime fragrance of hickory-smoked ham and browning potatoes.[87]

Ethel Waters spoke candidly to McBride, saying, "Maybe I'm not a real Christian, but I have Christianlike thoughts, and I believe in heaven."[88] Laurette Taylor, starring in "The Glass Menagerie" on Broadway, confessed that after the death of her husband, Hartley Manners, she "went on a wake that last 18 years."[89]

Mayor Fiorello La Guardia of New York, so-called "The little Flower," parried questions on his future plans for public office, but then blurted out, about marrying his secretary, "When I married her, I lost a good secretary and got a bum cook."[90] Another time La Guardia took her on a tour of the city: "We drove in his car, equipped with a telephone, shaving gear, a dictating apparatus and a little table for writing, all over the city inspecting bridges, markets and slums."[91]

Cynthia Lowry wrote about some of the fascinating tales the audience heard on McBride's studio confessionals:

> Madame Pandit remembered the first time she met Ghandi; Eleanor Wilson McAdoo recalled the death-bed statement of her father, Woodrow Wilson, that it was probably better that the United States had not joined the League of Nations; mystery writer Earl Stanley Gardner disclosed he chose the name Perry Mason because "I wanted something that meant strength and ruggedness: I thought of Mason because it had something to do with stone."Lowry said, "Men and women, urged on my her skillful questions and so lulled by her easy manner that they forgot the unobtrusive microphone, poured forth fascinating tales."[92]

McBride said the famous people she had met on her radio program were often shy beneath their outward appearance:

> They look so calm and sleek and sure of themselves, the successful men and women you see on stage and screen or in public places. But I've decided they're just like shrinking you and me, sometimes even more so, underneath.[93]

Jack Dempsey, notoriously shy, was one of those who had dreaded the interview. However, he forgot his shyness[94] after McBride, also reportedly plagued with shyness,[95] urged him to tell the story of his beginnings. Dempsey said his mother wanted him to become a prize fighter after reading a book about a "nice boxer" that she had bought from a traveling salesman.[96] McBride understood where he was coming from. About her own shyness, she once said: "I always dread that they'll [the critics and audience] will find out."[97]

Sometimes, it was only a matter of penetrating the public self to reveal the private thoughts of a reticent guest. McBride called Orson Welles brooding, but said, "I was never able to decide whether Welles was shy or merely indifferent, conceited or covering up humility."[98]

McBride apparently transmogrified the weakness of being shy into a strength.[99] Lowry said, "Men and women, urged on my her skillful questions and so lulled by her easy manner that they forgot the unobtrusive microphone, poured forth fascinating tales."[100] McBride could make the interviewee forget the radio audience was listening:

> Most of the people I interview on the air have gained a certain amount of public attention, which is likely to make them more

> guarded than the average individual, and there's one important difference between drawing people out in the drawing room and doing the same thing on the air
> -- the presence of a small-metal object called a microphone. The sight of this harmless-looking fixture frequently gives people a strange disease
> --mike fright. I have become an expert at diagnosis, pretty good at cure.[101]

If McBride saw a guest was obviously nervous, she became what she called the casual conversationalist: "Did you ever hear," she once said casually, "that when Ethel Barrymore was 19, it was rumored that she was engaged to Winston Churchill?"[102] Ironically, the worse case of jitters was experienced by a society reporter, who was scared stiff and who, for the 15 minutes on the air, was only able to answer "yes" or "no. McBride said the sound of her teeth chattering "went out on the air like Morse S.O.S."[103]

McBride said stage people were fascinating but exasperating because they would freeze up in a public appearance without a script. She said, "Sometimes the broadcast was almost over before I thawed them out."[104] She was flexible with actors when it involved helping a guest relax. The studio waived a rule against smoking to keep Beatrice Lillie calm at the beginning of an interview.[105]

The microphone also affected others quite the opposite way. McBride once held the hand of a nervous guest who rattled on without a single pause. McBride held her hand, squeezing it to give her the cue to pick up on a question. That guest was Grace Hartman, who in her own time became a radio commentator.[106] Another time, McBride could only silence a voluble authoress by bursting into tears.[107]

When the question came up of her worst quest of all time, McBride said: "The worst was a newspaper society writer who was so scared her teeth could be heard chattering in every home and bar and grill tuned in across the nation. I never did get her gentled down."[108]

McBride could make the overwhelming majority of her guests "forget" about the radio audience because she had the ability to "forget" herself and focus wholly on her guest.[109] Appalachian author Jesse Stuart became so relaxed with McBride that he forgot himself. He got caught up in suggestive stories about his grandfather in Appalachia. Bennett Cerf said about Stuart:

> When he heard they were on an open microphone for 35 minutes, he took a deep, audible breath and exclaimed, "Hell, ma'am, I never would have talked like that about old Grandpaw. I was so comfortable, I thought we were rehearsin'!"[110]

Others forgot themselves. A favored and returning guest was Margaret Bourke-White. In one of McBride's interviews, the famous photographer became so engrossed in telling a story about a young soldier taking a pin out of a grenade that she repeated "some choice profanity."[111]

McBride said philosophically that the radio talkshow host contributed to a kind of therapeutic human understanding:

> Through my program, I feel that I talk to all sorts of people. They're all different ages and different temperaments, with different kinds of humor and different understanding. I try to help them. But the real

> truth, is that some of the time I'm reaching out for something myself. Something like the way I pick up the phone when I'm in deep trouble.[112]

How did she concentrate on her guest to the exclusion of everything else? She apparently focused on the process of getting the information, no matter what was needed, and used that old Missouri saying (and old journalist's saw about how to make a story come alive), "Don't just tell me, show me!" The radio personality said, "In my time I've played straight man, comedienne, door mat, nursemaid, goad and any number of other roles to my stars."[113] She said she usually got guests started talking by telling them a story about themselves that is "funny or sweet";[114] she said guests could not resist taking over for her -- to tell their own stories.[115]

Reviewer Jay Nelson Tuck, who wrote the "On The Air" column for The New York Evening Post, said of the technique as it applied to her later television show:

> Miss McBride . . . is utterly self-effacing. Her questions are invariably well founded and shrewdly aimed, but they are so quietly spoken, so brief, so worded without color, that all the viewer's consciousness is concentrated on the subject not upon her. The subject who is not wary of the blue steel mind beneath her gentleness will merrily talk himself out. I have long maintained that Miss McBride is the best general interviewer in broadcasting, bar none, and I stand on that.[116]

New York Herald Tribune book reviewer John K. Hutchens said: "Not only did she draw out the most timid of them [authors], giving them briefly the illusion that they were speaking with the felicity of John Mason Brown, but she demonstrated that she actually had read and thought about what they had written."[117] Sometimes the most adventurous were the hardest to get talking about themselves. Through thoroughly researching their backgrounds, she often coaxed them to share anecdotes.

> One story told on her program by adventurous traveler John Morris (English author) concerned a time when he was teaching in Japan. Telephones were worth a sum equivalent to $1,000 in our money. When one was installed in his home, neighbors lined up in queues outside the door to use it. "One of them even had his visiting card printed with my phone number," said John.[118]

McBride said she was good at recognizing the storytelling talent in others.[119] These were the guests who needed no encouragement. McBride let storytellers Bennett Cerf monopolize the microphone as long as the stories were good.[120] She told inveterate storyteller Billy Rose that his life was full of surprises endings.[121] McBride admired this talent in others because she was not very good at telling stories from memory.[122]

McBride was more worried about guests who she thought might have to be "reined in." A precocious Beatrice Lillie finished her cigarette and interview with a little ditty: "I was standing at the corner, as a quiet as can be; when a great big ugly man came up and tied his horse to me." The closing reportedly brought down the studio audience with a roar.[123]

The talkshow host was most worried about Tallulah Bankhead because executives at NBC had sent McBride memo of caution about swearing on her program. The on-air swearing of Margaret Bourke-White and Jesse Stewart had been another matter. No one had expected them to swear because they did not make it a public habit. But, Bankhead had a reputation for using cuss words to draw attention to herself. So McBride sent Janice Devine in advance to tell the actress that she must not swear on the air.[124]

On the McBride show, Tallulah Bankhead still managed to circumvent the taboo against swear words on the air, saying "damn" and "hell"[125] before a horrified studio audience, when she asked, "I can't say hell on the air, can I, Mary Margaret?"[126] McBride said Bankhead, who could be depended upon to come up with the unexpected, then went on to describe growing up in Huntsville, Alabama, talking about "gingham-apron memories of whipping up biscuits, fried chicken and the like."[127]

There were some who thought the McBride show was beneath them, but who were won over. Helen Hayes long refused to appear on McBride's show but was finally trapped into appearing to promote a pet project, the Girl Scouts. In that brief appearance, Hayes is said to have become so captivated by McBride's good will and amiability, that she was left "gasping." Hayes said of McBride's amiability: "No wonder everyone wants to make her happy" -- even Ilka Chase, an actress and author known for her biting tongue.[128]

Hayes and others would come back for more -- and longer -- interviews on the air. From 1934 to 1954, it was estimated that McBride had served as "the perfect proxy" for the radio audience in 30,000 interviews[129] on her 15,000 programs.[130] That's not a bad record for a cornfed ingenue.

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Beverly G. Merrick

From Ghosting to Free-Lancing: Mary Margaret McBride Covers Royalty and Radio Rex

Anyone who has ever tried to make a working wage as a free-lance writer knows what it must have taken for Mary Margaret McBride to become one of the highest-paid writers in the magazine and trade book market during the era of jazz journalism.

McBride had been one of the newspaper reporters thrown out of work when the New York Evening Mail was bought out by Frank Munsey.[1] During this transitional time, McBride almost got put to work again, on the Telegram, following a good references from a concerned professional friend. But she didn't like the proposed position. McBride tells about crying in Frank Munsey's office to get out of the contract.[2] She was not particularly interested in the position of religion editor,[3] a typical post held by women. She considered women's page assignments the ghetto of the American newspaper. Then McBride was loaned out for a month to Aida de Acosta Breckenridge as a publicity person for the American Child Health Association, her salary paid by Munsey.[4]

McBride had a little to fall back on. Munsey, as part of the agreement in the newspaper buy-out, promised to pay reporters put out of work $100 a week for one whole year, whether he and his designates could find work for them or not. McBride was comforted by the remuneration, but uncertain about what to do with her life. Her mind was made up by Estella Karn, who had seen McBride's work and who knew she was good. Karn told McBride, "This is your great chance! You'll be paid $100 a week for months and since you won't have to do a thing for it you can begin to write for magazines."[5] The checks from Munsey lasted until January 1, 1925.[6]

As it turned out Karn was right. McBride did well with "a little help" from a friend. Karn had many contacts in the entertainment world, and she marketed McBride as a ghostwriter for famous people. These stories were bought up by magazines. By the end of the decade, McBride became known as one of only a few high-paid woman writing for magazines. She drew fees of $1,000 to $2,000 for articles.[7]

The purpose of this historical paper is to trace anecdotally the magazine years of Mary Margaret McBride. Furthermore, the author intends to discuss those characteristics of McBride's writing that made her so highly successful. The research will necessarily document McBride's professional activities through the mid-1920s, the market crash and the Depression, up to the time when she switched from being a magazine writer to being a radio talkshow host in the mid-1930s.

From the beginning of her journalistic career, McBride showed talent for getting people to talk about themselves. McBride's early magazine stories are from the perspective of an "as told to" writer who is helping a notable person tell her own story. A number of these stories appeared in The Saturday Evening Post. She also wrote for such magazines as Cosmopolitan, McCall's, Ladies' Home Journal, as free-lancer. For a while she was even on consignment to turn out an article for a popular woman's magazine, for which she received $500.[8]

McBride's free-lancing took off quickly. She was fortunate that Karn, who had many connections as a manager of artists, had taken a personal interest in her prospects. Karn suggested that McBride capitalize on the phenomenon of radio by writing a collaborative series of articles about Paul Whiteman and his jazz.[9] Karn was the publicity agent who had launched and who continued to manage Whiteman's career, as well as the careers of Vincent Lopez, the Pickens Sisters and Rudy Vallee.[10]

The idea did fly, in an illustrated history and anecdotal of published articles, which were collected later under one cover and called interestingly enough, Jazz.[11] The series was first published under a joint Whiteman-McBride byline by The Saturday Evening Post, then published in book-form in 1926 by Sears.[12] McBride said she was helped in the effort by writer Rose Wilder Lane.[13]

In the book Whiteman, through the collaboration with McBride, presented jazz as a new way of playing old music. The series takes up the charge that "jazz is a vile intoxicant which is poisoning the lives of this [the 1920s] generation and corrupting oncoming youth."[14] Whiteman said "yes" to the defenders of jazz, who claimed that jazz makes those who listen to it -- and especially those who dance to it -- drunk.[15]

To interview Whiteman for the book, McBride trailed him on his travels across the states, getting bedside interviews in between his concerts. She remembers eating corned beef and cabbage with him, calling him a "mighty trencherman."[16] Later she would also write an equally compelling portrait of Vincent Lopez, also for The Saturday Evening Post.[17]

However, McBride's second as-told-to article was with David Sarnoff, who was, apparently, another confederate of Karn. The collaboration resulted in an article called "Radio." In the article Sarnoff talks about having "no precocious premonition" that he was close to history in the making, when he as a newspaperman mistakenly walked into the office of the Commercial Cable Company asking for a job, rather making than the planned visit to James Gordon Bennett's office at the old New York Herald.[18]

This would be the most intimate and comprehensive portrait of Sarnoff for its time. Sarnoff talked to McBride about the odd coincidence of being on duty as operator when the first message came from the *Olympic*, 1,400 miles at sea, that the *Titanic* was going down. Meanwhile, while the founding chair of RCA sat down and talked with NBC's future "First Lady of Radio," who would later interview him in that capacity, they would not have an inkling that they were so close to history in the making.[19]

Her third ghost-writing assignment was with young opera singer Marion Talley, sensation of the late 1920s. McBride had interviewed a 15-year-old Talley, as a reporter for the Mail, when Talley came for an audition at the Metropolitan Opera. At age 19, Talley talked in the Post article about "Main Street at the Metropolitan, as Told to Mary Margaret McBride."[20]

In 1926, as a free-lance writer, McBride covered the event everyone else was cover. And she did it with evident satisfaction. In 1922, as a reporter for The Mail, she had made the exodus with other reporters to New Jersey to cover the opening days of the famous Hall-Mills murder case, in which the Rev. Edward Wheeler Hall and the choir leader of his church were found murdered at the site of an apparent tryst under a crabapple tree. However, in 1922, McBride had been pulled off the story after several days to work on another series growing out of her sob sister series.[21]

Now the murder case had moved to trial, with the wife of the most-reverend-and-very-dead Rev. Hall having been charged along with co-conspirators, with the murders of her husband and his alleged lover. The trial was turned into a Roman circus by the reporters. In the prolonged courtroom drama, McBride had listened to the infamous testimony of the ailing pig-woman,[22] who was brought in on a stretcher to testify that she had seen the murders in the orchard while herding her pigs. McBride said: "For its duration, going to the Hall-Mills trial was as fashionable as going to the races."[23]

McBride was in awe of the next person featured in her next Post assignment. Anne Morgan, of the American Women's Association, who spoke at a commencement of a young woman's college, was featured in a story called "Copycats: An Interview With Anne Morgan," reported by Mary Margaret McBride.[24] Morgan continued to be a loyal friend to McBride through the years. McBride said she was invited to Morgan's country home in Katonah.[25]

McBride's successful writing formula was based on a perspective of optimism, patriotism, and home and hearth. The article had the same attention to detail reflected in McBride's later radio programs. In "Your Uncle Sam," a magazine article in The Saturday Evening Post written in 1928, she writes:

> If you want to know how to sell sewing machines to the Hottentots in Africa or shoes to the barefoot millions of India, or how safely to reduce your diet to 1,500 calories a day or build your longed-for home of wood, concrete or brick, or make your shoes last longer or concoct a crisp brown pretzel or fly an airplane--just drop your inquiry into the nation's question box at Washington and Uncle Sam will tell you all about it.
>
> It will cost you a two-cent postage stamp to ask, nothing to be told. Uncle Sam's information service is without price.[26]

She also took assignments she was not particularly fond of doing. In a time when having a bootlegger and access to a speakeasy was a status symbol, McBride wrote about the evils of strong drink. Among her varied writer's fare were 12 chapters of "The Story of a Bootlegger's Wife, as told to Mary Margaret McBride" -- a somewhat autobiographical piece echoing her own sentiments on prohibition.[27]

A year later, in 1927, she collaborated with Alexander Williams called Charm. The association must have been a bad one. She never got any royalties for the book and disavowed authorship when possible.[28]

Before long, Mary Margaret McBride and Estella Karn were living on Park Avenue, touring Europe and investing the stock market.[29] McBride was like many caught up in the new prosperity. Cynthia Lowry, McBride's lifelong friend, said in a book-length work edited by McBride, and showing her obvious input:

> Stock prices, from a comparatively slow take-off were going through the roof, led by automobile and radio companies. Men and women in modest circumstances were taking flyers in the market, often not knowing what they were buying, their purchases based on whispered tips from barber, elevator boy or soothsayer. Many were buying on margin, building up large debts with their eager stock brokers.
>
> In November, 1928, Black, Starr and Frost, New York City jewelers, took a full-page in a popular magazine to advertise, with a life-size reproduction, a pearl necklace for $685,000. Henry Ford in 1927, abandoned his stark, economical old tin lizzy for the most comfortable, complicated Model A.[30]

In the years before the crash, things had never been better. One summer, McBride wrangled a roving overseas assignment to interview statesmen and princes, and other exiled royalty. She made her headquarters in Rome, but traveled to other European cities, "chaperoned" by her mother[31] and accompanied by Stella Karn [the summer the hurricane struck Florida, McBride said, records show it struck on Sept. 12, 1928).[32] McBride had begun working on the series in the suite of a Prince Christopher at the Biltmore; she also interviewed him at her small apartment in the theatrical forties. It was during this time, she gained a secretary, Hilda Deichler,[33] who would work as secretary for 25 years. McBride said Deichler was the person who had typed up her very first story she ever had sent to a magazine.[34]

McBride followed the prince to his Italian villa in Rome the following June to complete the series.[35] McBride said, On a blue and gold day in Rome, at a table sat for five, there were four of them -- three princes and an ex-king. I was no princess, but I was the only woman there."[36] McBride was never out of her element; when in doubt she survived in characteristic Missouri style. She said:

> At the end of this luncheon, the finger bowl arrived on a dessert place with a priceless antique doily underneath, an arrangement so new to me that I carefully removed the bowl to one side and delicately dished myself some monster strawberries, right on the treasured doily. One of the princes and the ex-king gallantly followed suit but two of the princes had already put the doilies where they belonged under the finger bowls, and my shocked eye saw while my cheeks turned crimson.[37]

McBride continued to sit down to dinner at the same table with the several ex-kings and crown princes.[38] She danced with royalty and interviewed every dethroned monarch she could find: Manuel of Portugal, Archduke Otto of Austria, the Sultan of Morocco, the Shah of Persia, Queen Marie or Yugoslavia. Later, the European round of assignments would translate into a series of articles, eventually made into a book, written in conjunction with Prince Christopher of Greece about the history of his family.[39] Prince Christopher was the great-grandson of Queen Victoria and the uncle of Philip Mountbattan, who later was named Duke of Edinburgh.[40]

McBride liked the pageantry. She was living out some of her adolescent daydreams. During McBride's life as a Missouri farm girl, while she faced the morning chores, she admitted to pretending she was a foundling, actually the daughter of a duke and a duchess: "gypsies had stolen her from her noble parents as a baby and had left her in a meadow" -- where her father had found her.[41] While she loved the Old Home

Place as a child, she hated country people to be stereotyped as "Country Jakes," who had not been beyond the closest little neighboring town.[42]

The public were allowed in to see quite a frank account of the private side of the prince's royal family. One of the articles, called "This King Business," and which appeared in The Saturday Evening Post,[43] could just as well be called "This Monkey Business" -- subtitled "The Life-Long Travailles of Having to Be King When You are Continually Bored by All the Palaces, Parties and Paronomasia."

Prince Christopher called his grandfather, King Christian of Denmark -- Apapa. The prince said he "bullied Apapa a little on occasion" to get everything he wanted. His grandmother died when the prince was quite young, but he remember seeing her wheeled about her garden in a Bath chair with a huge pair of shears to cut the roses herself.[44]

With nice attention to detail, Prince Christopher reportedly told McBride:

> Denmark was a place where all my relatives exercised whatever latent talents they might have. Queen Alexandra, the Duchess of Cumberland, my grandmother and the Empress Marie would play eight-handed arrangements on two pianos. Queen Alexandra sometimes painted and so did my Aunt Marie, Uncle Waldemar's wife. Aunt Marie had a passion for riding, and one day ordered a huge prize bull to be saddled and mounted it. The marriages in the family sometimes produced strange relationships. For instance, my elder sister Alexandra became the sister-in-law of our Aunt Minny and the first cousin of our mother by her marriage to Grand Duke Paul. She teased my aunt by threatening to call her Minny instead of Aunt Minny, but of course she never did.[45]

But, then there was Uncle Freddy, as the prince called the Crown Prince of Denmark, who fell off his bike when he knocked two ladies in a ditch.[46] And the prince often went riding with Queen Maud of Norway, Princess Victoria and Grand Duke Michael.[47] And Uncle Sacha, who was visiting at the palace at Fredensborg, could not resist squirting the hose at King Oscar of Sweden, who never did see the joke.[48]

Then there was the prince's first time at Buckingham Palace, when at the age 21, he joined King George of Greece to visit Uncle Bertie, so-called King Edward, and Aunt Alix, so-called Queen Alexandra. And, didn't people know that King Edward had a terrible temper, once smearing the entire front of "impeccably correct garments" he had donned for a ball with spinach because he lost his temper.[49] A person would have to be angry to do that.

Prince Christopher remembers his first ball in Britain was at the American Embassy in London, and former newsman Whitelaw Reid was the embassador. There the prince met the Duchess of Sutherland, the Duchess of Westminster, the Princes of Wales, the Duchess of Portsmouth and Lady Gray. Each "lovelier than the one before" -- because "nobody can be more beautiful than an Englishwoman when she is beautiful."[50]

At the court balls, of course, King Edward and Queen Alexandra led the quadrille, she "with her stiff leg" but moving "with real grace" and he being "short and fat" but "extremely imposing."[51]

In the article McBride almost left Prince Christopher on the royal yacht with his relatives, Queen Alexandra at a Greek hospital where she insisted on watching a bloody operation that a surgeon termed just "beautiful."[52]

But the story gets more exciting with the arrival of the one whom everyone talks about in the family. That royal *bother* is Empress Elizabeth of Austria . . . who once just happened to be in the neighborhood of Greece . . . according to the captain of a Russian gunboat who had seen in her a harbor . . . was traveling incognito . . . and her villa 12 miles out of Corfu was an eyesore costing the American government 12 million crowns . . . because she had given the architect carte blanche . . . and now the Kaiser bought the villa and lives in it . . . when he's not out watching them dig up the head of a stone lion discovered in the field of a farmer who was plowing . . . not far from his father's place . . and he fell backwards out of his chair while he was watching the excavation but nobody's laughing except Prince Christopher's 15-year-old niece, Princess Helen of Rumania . . . who to her mother's horror, chortled, . . . while the others vanished behind convenient trees "to gurgle" at their leisure.[53]

The prince then concluded: "Nobody knows better than I do that the king business isn't what it used to be."[54] But strangely enough, he said, the slump that began in the mid-1910s, he was had "the refusal of three European thrones": Portugal in 1912, Lithuania in 1920, and Albania "had almost come to that."[55] He added: "Each time I have said to those who were kind enough to make the offer that my head was too bald to keep the crown from slipping off."[56] And as matter of fact, he said, "nothing under the sun would induce" him to become king: "In these uncertain times you're quite likely to sit on a bomb at the same time that you sit on a throne."[57]

It was her magazine series on royalty that brought her to the Castle Dromoland in Ireland. She talked of walking through a garden framed in fruit trees trained espalier fashion, "flat against the wall, past peacocks preening themselves in the sun, to a seat in front of an ancient sundial where I ate buttered crumpets and drank tea served by a liveried old, old butler from old, old silver embossed with a crest that went back to the Irish kings."[58]

Perhaps, as she sat in the garden, she daydreamed about the tales her Grandfather McBride had told her about the family's clans in the Hybrides. She recollected he had told her, "That's royal enough for anybody. . . . It's just as well you have no prince in your family tree. It might make you feel above yourself!"[59]

As previously noted, McBride's mother was with her on her 1928 tour. Mary Margaret tells interesting anecdotes about the way the Paris, Mo., native felt about her daughter's royal assignments there. McBride's mother took all the titles, pageantry and royal personages in stride. McBride apparently delighted in telling her friends how the "devout little lady,"[60] who had never before left her native state of Missouri, "was quite unimpressed by all the celebrities and the places she visited"[61] -- and when McBride gave her the grand tour of Paris, her mother reportedly had no comment on the banana dance at the Folies Bergeres.[62]

McBride writes about a hiatus during this prolonged period of European assignments [which appear to be in 1927, 1928, 1929], spent in Paris -- a world away from the constant travel and travails of royalty. McBride was one of the few American journalists in Paris when Lindbergh made his solo flight. McBride was in a Left Bank hotel when she got a cable from her agent [Karn?] that Lindbergh landed the Spirit of St. Louis on a small airfield in France [May 22, 1927]. She was told to contact the ambassador to set up an interview; the beleaguered official put her off. She did not get the personal interview.[63]

McBride returned from her 1927 European trip in the fall s she was shown a $21,000 check made out to her from her broker. The financial advisor put the money back into the market, and within a year, the amount had quadrupled.[64]

McBride had moved uptown by this time. She lived at No. 55, 16th Floor[65] However, she worried a lot about her parents. Her father had got himself into an over-extended real estate venture once again, this time in Orlando. The elder McBrides had moved to Orlando in 1922,[66] not only for a retirement home but because her father wanted to speculate on property. McBride intervened and made the down payment on a small home for her parents in nearby Winter Park.[67] Reportedly, the Florida land boom peaked in 1925; the bottom fell out only a year later, with many land speculators discovering that they had bought only swamp.[68] Apparently, Thomas McBride had once more bought into a false dream. McBride never did come to come kind of acceptance toward her father's real estate ventures. She never did lose the resentment she felt toward him because of her mother's struggles to make a home in often difficult circumstances.[69]

More trouble was to come in her personal life during this period. McBride did not speak much of it, but wrote about her family tragedies in a few brief sentences in How Dear to My Heart She said that her father died shortly after the European trip she had taken with her mother. McBride's youngest brother also died too. And then, McBride's mother had a stroke that left her partly paralyzed.[70] Then her brother Milton lost his young wife. And after this, McBride took her mother to Maine one summer and McBride asked her to teach her all the dishes of hers she liked best.[71] McBride's mother came up see her in an autumn for a week, before she died.[72]

More is known about McBride's professional travels of the time because her sojourns resulted in articles. In summer of 1929, McBride planned a Scandinavian trip with Karn. She bought silver in Denmark, heard rumors of market troubles in Paris in September, arriving home the week of Oct. 21, 1929.[73] On Oct. 24, McBride and Karn held a party for Inez Haynes Erwin, who had a new book coming out.[74] Both had been good friends of Inez and her husband Will, who wrote for The Saturday Evening Post. Karn and McBride had often been to the Erwins' home, a four-story brick home at 240

West 11th Street.[75] Now -- as friends do -- they were throwing a party for Inez. And -- now as friends often do -- McBride's broker, who was attending the party, advised them to pull out their investments.[76]

McBride was preoccupied, working to catch up on all the work that had been waiting from her in her long absence. She was also busily drafting the material she and Helen Josephy, a graduate of Ohio State, had gleaned on the journalistic tour in Europe. Karn was catching up on business matters. Neither McBride nor Karn moved soon enough to follow up on the advice of friends.

McBride later admitted she had lost "the proverbial shirt" in the Wall Street crash of November 1929, even though her small fortune on paper had never seemed real to her anyway.[77] She reportedly lost $100,000 in the stock market crash.[78] Karn, meanwhile (as friend Betty Colfax put it), "dropped a neat $60,000 in that disaster which sent many male victims leaping from window sills to oblivion on the pavement."[79]

In an article for Women's World called "Big Stars and Baby Elephants," Colfax talked about being with Karn the night of the market crash. Colfax was a movie reviewer; they attended a premiere performance. Karn, watched her write the review, then said, "I was wiped out today."[80] Colfax said Karn apparently did not want to upset her friend before she got her review done.[81]

McBride had to move out of her Park Avenue apartment[82] but she had her writing to fall back on. Fortunately, in the two previous years, she gathered the material for the series of travel books with Josephy. McBride's travels in Europe provided much more material than that about royalty for her writing.[83] This would be their first collaboration, but not their last. Josephy would later became McBride's first legwoman on radio, who went out to check facts and often came up with tips for McBride.[84]

Ironically, although the times were unsettling in McBride's career, she was considered a success by her alma mater. In April 1930, McBride was called home to Missouri to be the commencement speaker at William Woods College; reportedly it was the first time a woman delivered the commencement address at her alma mater.[85] Of course, she could not know that she would also be honored forty years later with an honorary doctorate in the school's centennial celebration in April 1970.[86]

Meanwhile, she worked on the traveling articles and books, which were designed to show Americans how they can enjoy themselves better in shops, hotels, schools, night clubs, pubs and on house parties: Paris Is a Woman's Town (1929), London Is Man's Town (1930) and New York is Everybody's Town (1931), Beer and Skittles (a Friendly Modern Guide to Germany, 1932). The publications were billed as the most practical guide books for women yet published.[87] Apparently, the Paris book was so popular that it led to similar publications. McBride said of Paris Is a Woman's Town:

> Our idea of writing a book was to make it a little easier for women who dream and plan for their first trip to Paris and then are so awed by the strange language and customs that they miss half the fun of the trip. In order to tell them just what to do and what not to do, down to the very last detail, we had to do all the things first ourselves. Some of our experiences are very interesting.[88]

Although the books were intended to serve as tourist guides,[89] they also served social commentaries. Marion Clyde McCarroll, a reviewer for the New York Post, said about Paris is a Woman's Town:

> [S]ome people may want to know what they ought to look at hardest when they visit the Louvre, or what features of Notre Dame they should admire the most. . . . But just put such information alongside

> an offer to tell where it is possible to get a Worth gown for one-fifth its cost, where you can find a genuine fried chicken Maryland for luncheon, or what shops Gloria Swanson patronizes when she goes to Paris for a new outfit, and see which a woman will reach for.[90]

Readers were told that when Mary Pickford goes to fashion designers, she takes along a thermos bottler and her own dressinggown, and spends a whole day trying on fashions and being fitted.[91]

If someone wants to live in Paris for awhile, there are instructions on how to get an apartment: "how to keep the concierge contented; the proper sum to assuage the grief of a cook over the death of a relative; how to rent a vacuum cleaner for 75 cents a day."[92]

Through the books, McBride reveals interesting anecdotes about her travels on the continent. She writes in Paris is a Women's Town:

> We encountered pensions where they only gave three clean towels a month and one where a boarder kept a pet owl which hooted at night and a tame turtle which was constantly getting loose and predominating [sic] in other people's rooms.[93]

In conjunction with London Is a Man's Town, McBride and Josephy also wrote a man's fashion article for The Saturday Evening Post, in which they said, "Being only women, we had labored, it seems, under many delusions. For instance, we never, until recently, bothered to question the assertion of our men friends that men's clothes are the same year after year. And we firmly believed it."[94]

Rather, in London Is a Man's Town (1930), the readers learned Seville Row and the Prince of Wales have different ideas. The readers learned such fashion facts as that the Prince of Wales gets his dress shirts from Hawes and Curtis, 53 Jermyn Street and the Piccadilly Arcade. His highness preferred blue for shirts and ties.[95] At an author's tea given by her publisher, McBride said, "Vanity, I think, is a natural masculine quality. In women it's an acquired characteristic."[96]

Meanwhile, in Paris Is a Women's Town, a man in the center of fashion is a mere incident: "He might, true enough, come in handy at a dance, as a dancing partner. But even then a handsome gigolo, with references, may be rented from a certified agency for any occasion."[97]

McBride and Josephy apparently conducted a lot of research into the study of the male character while in London and Paris. In promoting London Is a Man's Town, McBride argued that American men were better because they had more of an appreciation for women and a kind of "spiritual courtesy" toward women, while Josephy said she preferred the English male: "about the only men in the world who still remember that even the modern woman likes certain little old-fashioned attentions."[98]

From Paris is a Woman's Town, readers learned that Englishmen are sentimental; Swiss men, good dancers; South American men, dangerous; Italian men, good companions; Russian men, cultivated; German men, romantic; and Swedes and Scandinavians will sit up all night talking.[99]

McBride said that she discovered among other things about a certain kind of Parisian man:

> The women travelling alone can hire an escort with references complete for almost any occasion and quiet reasonably. She may even rent him for the entire period of her stay. There are thirty young men in Paris who make more than 100,000 francs a year by acting as professional dancing partners in prominent cafes. The handsomest and most magnetic are often paid 500 francs for a single dance by

> rich and vain women.[100]

McBride does not reveal if she or her traveling companions availed themselves of the services of these platonic gigolos.

McBride and Josephy attempted to write the guides from the perspective of disinterested reporters. They referred to a number of guidebooks marketed on-site in Paris, London and so on. McBride, meanwhile, got to see more of the places she had always dreamed about. She told readers that she and her travelling companions followed a leisurely schedule, cutting down on the number of places they visited to spend more time at those they really liked. And, she invited the prospective travelers to do the same.[101]

It is certain that readers of London Is a Man's Town had no inkling that McBride found English men trained only in "artificial courtesies":

> The American man has much more fundamental courtesy. . . . Take the English woman, for instance. Of there's money in the family, brothers gets educated, fathers and sons get the correct clothes; the estates is kept up, and if there's any money left after that, mother and sister get a little frock run up by the villages dressmaker.[102]

Nor in the discussion of the London pubs did readers discover that McBride was steeped in Calvinistic training and a teetotaler who could not tolerate being pressed to drink during her travels.[103] Cynthia Lowry describes the ideal dress and the mores of the time:

> Women had changed their appearances once again, and more dramatically. Hair was now shingled and set off by long, pendant-type earrings. Skirts were short, at or above the knees, and flesh-colored

> stockings were either rolled or adorned by garish garters. Waistlines were dropped to a low point, and now the ideal woman's figure was as sexy as a pencil. Wives were not only following men into the speakeasies, they were smoking in public. It was all very exciting, and it seemed as if it would never end.[104]

Of course, McBride was not smoking or drinking and a person who tended to carry weight could not look like a pencil. During the time of flappers, McBride characterized herself as rather prim.[105] McBride reportedly even scraped the brandy from brandied peaches before she ate them.[106]

Meanwhile, she continued with magazine assignments while working furiously on her books. It was a time of ironies for Mcbride. Again, she would interview one of the major names in the founding of the medium of radio, little knowing that she would some day be voted the most listened-to woman on radio.[107]

It was another as-told-to interview for The Post, this time with Owen D. Young, of General Electric, which owned a big piece of the Radio Corporation of America. Young said to McBride, "My part in the development of radio probably gives me as much satisfaction as anything I have ever done."[108]

Young said his real contribution to radio has been his ignorance because he had the kind of ignorance that made "extravagant and even preposterous demands."[109] He told a gathering of RCA radio engineers that he wanted his stenographer's typewriter and telephone so connected that when she wrote a letter it would be instantly transmitted in facsimile to the person to whom it is addressed anywhere in the world. The audience scoffed because he had just called linking the telegraph signal across the continent, "nothing" compared with what could be done. The year was 1929.[110]

Young said there were few compartments of a person's life that radio did not touch, whether it be work or education or amusement. He talked about the extraordinary development in radio, which played an important factor in the whole scheme of world communication.[111]

McBride later said in America for Me that for a while radio seemed destined to stay in the doghouse, like Radio Rex, a toy driven by radio waves out of his doghouse when someone called "Rex! Rex![112] Radio was only a curiosity. McBride said, "We had so many other things to play with in the prosperity era -- cars and motion pictures, slick-paper magazines, expensive phonographs -- that nobody bothered much with Rex."[113]

But the Depression was to become a boon to radio. McBride said that in the Depression "a lot of cars were sold and money for motion pictures was scare, so after a round or two of midget golf, Americans began staying home and turning on the radio."[114]

The Depression might have been a boon to radio, but it wiped out her high-paying magazine market. After working unrestrainedly, on many assignments simultaneously, for 15 years, she often found herself idle. Magazines refused to pay her rates.[115] From a Park Avenue Apartment with a maid, and summers in Europe, she was plunged into poverty.[116]

McBride said that even for her mother's legendary cooking, she had known hunger. She had experienced poverty as a child, and was experiencing it again. McBride said about the Depression:

> There were days when I felt I'd raised it myself from a pup to an oversized wolf at the door. I still divide my life into two parts, before and after the crash. Before, I didn't do so badly -- at least I managed what mattered most -- to become a sort of writer. That I had planned, from the time I learned to read. I had fought my well-meaning family to be educated for writing instead of school-teaching, fought my way

> through all the handicaps a girl meets in the man's business of journalism, worked my way up, Alger fashion, from a little newspaper job to well-paid writing for the big-time magazines.[117]

She continued to depend on her writing. Fortunately, she was prolific. In 1930, she published, as sole author, The Story of Dwight W. Morrow (Farrar). She remembers the long interviews with Mrs. Morrow and her daughters at Englewood; she recalls finally getting to meet Charles Lindbergh Jr., whose Aunt Elisabeth had brought him to lunch -- a cameo appearance.[118] For the Pictorial Review, McBride wrote about "The Modest Little School" of Elisabeth Morrow, eldest daughter of the late Dwight W. Morrow, short months before her nephew, Charles Jr., was kidnapped from Englewood, N.J.[119]

But the worst was yet to come for her. The bottom dropped out of the magazine market.[120] Although she had made $40,000 in 1930, she began 1931 with a nervous breakdown.[121] Still she continued to write. And no wonder. Apparently, finances were so bad she accepted $21 for rewriting a garden article for a magazine group "that had paid her $2,000 for a piece a couple of years before."[122]

McBride said, "The mental horrors of the months that followed as nerves took their revenge have made me almost morbidly sympathetic with women who have mental burdens to bear."[123] McBride said she finished New York is Everybody's Town, her last book collaboration with Helen Josephy,in the middle of her nervous breakdown.[124]

Around this time, McBride lucked out with a promotion with Aide Breckinridge for the White House Conference on Child Care and Protection. McBride, Hilda Deichler, Helen Josephy and a young staff went to Washington for four weeks to coordinate the press and provide news releases on the 1,200 reporters sent in for the conference.[125] The conference networking led to a joint publicity job with Josephy, that of blanketing the country with press releases on Margaret Bourke-White, who produced sure-fire copy.[126]

McBride and Josephy's New York Is Everybody's Town was on the book stands.The work was not for New Yorkers, but was billed as a book to give visitors from out of town, in case they want to "cruise over the statue of Liberty, scale the Chrysler Tower or stroll the Bowery."[127] However, reviewer Marion Clyde McCarroll of the New York Evening Post said the book was also for the natives, because newspapers show "there is no fun like reading about things you already knew about yourself."[128]

The reality for most New Yorkers that year was much more severe. As McBride confidante Cynthia Lowry described the scene: "Bread lines, soup kitchens and hunger marches appeared. Apple sellers and pencil peddlers were on every corner."[129] McBride was one of the new poor, with 15 million, 12 percent of the nation's labor force, out of work.[130]

Meanwhile, back at the University of Missouri, women were not faring too well. McBride's old journalism dean was now president of the university. President Williams pushed for a policy that any woman employee marrying after July 1, 1933, would automatically forfeit her position at Missouri. Reportedly, Williams believed that "under times of stress the employment of married women by the university should be discouraged, except in extraordinary circumstances."[131] Out of 11 faculty members, one was a woman, Frances Dabney Grinstead, B.J., assistant professor. Edith Marken, B.J., A.M., was secretary to the school.[132] Ironically, Williams had been married only a short time to Sara Lockwood Williams, a returning journalism graduate (1913),[133] who had been national president to Theta Sigma Phi and who had taught feature writing at the university.[134]

The policy was pushed during a time that the university was -- like other institutions -- strapped financially because of the Depression. The School of Journalism, for instance, was operating on a reduced budget of 10 percent. Earl English, writes in Journalism Education at the University of Missouri-Columbia, "Because of unfavorable employment conditions, the result of unprecedented loss of business by the media, job placements reached their lowest point."[135]

He adds that 14 of 141 graduates found position of a journalistic nature out of the 89 men and 52 women graduates for 1931-1932 -- the largest graduating class to date.[136]

This seemingly extraordinarily discriminatory policy against women was more the rule of the day than the exception. It demonstrates the real hardships women faced in not only journalism but across the professions. Such decisions made it harder for women to support themselves, whether they were entering the job market or had established their credentials, during a time when they really needed to make a working wage.

But McBride was not one to be beaten down so easily. During the Depression, McBride wrote as an "as-told-to" article with Eleanor Roosevelt, unaware that she would one day share the airwaves with her collaborator. Roosevelt had been the chairwoman of the Women's Crusade, in which she mobilized volunteers in 1933 to lift the spirits and energies of those who must support their husbands, who are "worn-out with anxiety, driven half-mad by the fruitlessness" of a search for work.[137] Except for the husband, she could have been describing McBride. The article relates that nearly 100,000 jobless, homeless women are "abroad in the land, riding in freights, sleeping in haystacks and on park benches."[138]

Earlier that year McBride had persuaded four former First Ladies (Helen Taft, Grace Wilson, Grace Coolidge, Lou Hoover), to break their unwritten rule against interviews to speak about the history of the Girl Scouts, which was founded in Savannah, Ga., in 1912.[139] It would seem the magazine writer was the top in her profession. However, McBride was finding it difficult to make a living. 1933 and 1934 were "two alarmingly lean years."[140] To get the interview with Mrs. Coolidge, after being turned down, McBride just showed up in Northampton during a March snowstorm. Grace Coolidge sent a car for her, and she interviewed the former First Lady before a blazing fire as Calvin Coolidge looked out the window. He died ten days later.[141]

Because of what Heggie called "a ceaseless gnawing fear" of finances, around this time, McBride consulted an astrologer, who "unhesitatingly told her that because of a fortunate conjunction of Jupiter and . . . , she would shortly enter a new profession."[142] McBride said, "I had to start over -- and then's when the miracle happened."[143]

There is no evidence how much credence McBride placed on astrological predictions; however, McBride believed shipwrecks and disasters often were preludes to good fortune.[144] Her interview at WOR occurred within four short months. She said in finding a brand-new niche, "some of my wildest dreams came true."[145] McBride wrote:

> I believe that in every life there is one miracle and that radio, my third career in New york, was my miracle. I was middle-aged or nearing it . . . when it happened to me, and I needed a miracle desperately. I had been jobless and broke for four years. I was supporting two people besides myself, I was shabby, disillusioned, and rapidly approaching hopelessness.[146]

She was 35 years old.

Apparently, also because of her fear of poverty, during McBride's early radio days, she continued to write magazine articles, perhaps with an uncertain eye toward the future. Four months after her 1934 debut on WOR radio, she wrote a series of articles for the Pictorial Review on the specter of maternity and infant morality.[147] She also continued until 1935 to work as woman's page editor for the Newspaper Enterprise Association.[148]

In the same way, the old-girl's network had helped McBride through rough depression times, McBride had taken the stop-gap job at the Newspaper Enterprise Association, to fill in for a friend who was critically ill. McBride's friend died shortly thereafter, and McBride was asked to continue as Woman's Page Editor.[149] In that position, her byline was syndicated to millions of newspaper readers.[150] She had been working at the NEA, when her literary agent called her in for the "Martha Deane" interview at WOR.[151] As late as 1936, the McBride was called a newspaper and magazine writer who is known on the radio was Martha Deane.[152] Shortly thereafter, of course, her radio career eclipsed her writing careers.

Perhaps the fear of failure began to recede in 1936 when she received a medal for the year's greatest contribution to radio from the women's National Exposition of Arts and Industries.[153] Her book about her then-short stint in radio, called Here's Martha Deane (Garden City, N.J.), was also published in that year. By 1937 she reportedly had a Park Avenue Apartment and a home on Sylvan Lake[154] in Winter Park, Florida.[155]

McBride apparently turned the early collaborations into lifelong friendships. Fort instance, on radio, she once interviewed Marjorie Mills of Boston and June Baker of Chicago, radio colleagues. Numbered among old friends who made it in the air multiple times as McBride's guests were Alice Hughes, Tyra Samter Winslow, Rex Stout and Sophie Kerr.[156]

And, of course, there were always Elmer and Berta Hader, who in return invited McBride and other confidants to Willow Hill, their home at Nyack on the Hudson, for Thanksgiving, Christmas and other holidays.[157] As many as forty showed up on weekends. During the 1920s, many of the guests were struggling writers and artists she and the Haders had met while working for the major magazines. Most of the regulars came from San Francisco: Stella, the Haders, the newspaperman Lemuel and Mary Field Parton, who also lived on the Hudson; and Saturday Evening Post writer Will and Inez Hayes Erwin.[158] It was at the Erwin's home on West 11th that McBride met Carl Sandburg, Burl Ives, Fannie Hurst and Edna Ferber.[159]

Meanwhile, another old friend and her former professor, President Williams, was declining in health because of the terrific strain of administering a university through a depression. He died at his home in July 1935.[160]

Comments made by McBride later in life indicate that Dean Williams may have played a role in helping her graduate from the Missouri School of Journalism, thereby helping her launch a career. Times had turned bad for McBride's family when she was enrolled there. It looked like she was going to have to leave school without graduating. McBride said that Dean Williams had raised a grade made in his class so -- "I could have enough points to be graduated in the middle of the year."[161] He had been another person who helped McBride get along with "a little help from a friend."

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Sponsors Court Mary Margaret McBride, Talkshow Host:
"All About Life in a Biscuit Factory, on the Radio"

By

Beverly G. Merrick

Ph.D., M.A.J., M.A.

Women's Studies Certificate

presented to

the Advertising Division
AEJMC National Convention
Atlanta, Georgia
August 1994

Sponsors Court Mary Margaret McBride, Talkshow Host: "All About Life in a Biscuit Factory, on the Radio"[1]

Mary Margaret McBride, talkshow host, learned that radio does not exist unless it can entice sponsors. It is ironic that early radio giants had to learn this maxim themselves. Ben Gross, radio columnist, writes that the pioneers of radio "had predicted with uncanny clairvoyance almost every phase of radio's program structure" but "did not foresee the day when broadcasting companies would make tremendous profits from the sale of time to sponsors."[2]

In fact, David Sarnoff foresaw profits coming from the sale of receivers (and no wonder, $83.5 million from 1922 to 1924 reported by RCA).[3] Sarnoff's early dream, as noted in his early writers' collaboration with McBride in an article appearing The Saturday Evening Post, was the transmission of messages so that radio could be a medium of point-to-point commercial communication. Of course, as Red Smith pointed out, words spoken over a microphone lacked privacy, and it was soon discovered that any "ham" equipped with a receiver could eavesdrop on the conversation.[4]

By the 1930s everyone was a ham and the words "eavesdrop" and "conversation" were not the operative terms to describe the phenomenon of millions of people "tuning in" to their favorite radio show. It was understood that advertisers could create messages that would induce a vast audience of listeners to try their products.

In this most lucrative marriage of radio and advertising, McBride became an early matchmaker. Most advertisers were pleasantly surprised that she had the potential to sell almost anything over the air. As noted by Harriet Stix, a reporter for the New York Herald Tribune, "sponsors will probably never again know the like" of Mary Margaret McBride.[5] One sponsor told a writer for Tide, "There isn't another program in America that can accomplish such phenomenal results."[6]

Arthur Godfrey is the only talk show host who gave McBride any competition in salesmanship. Critic Ben Gross of the New York Daily News, said that except for Mary Margaret McBride, Godfrey "proved himself to be the most successful salesman of the airwaves."[7] It was only in 1945, with his popular "Arthur Godfrey Time" that he showed he could have commercial value and became CBS's "most valuable property."[8]

As to McBride's legendary salesmanship, she was once characterized by one of her advertisers as Mother Hubbard, "her hands still floury from the morning's baking, dropping in for some gossip over the kitchen table."[9] But an advertiser was ill-advised not to take her endorsement seriously. Especially, because McBride had an uneasy relationship with sponsors. She reportedly "pleased" them and "subdued" them.[10]

Arthur Godfrey was also known for subduing sponsors. But McBride said: "I don't joke about my sponsors the way Godfrey does, because I believe in their products too much, but neither do I let them push me around!"

References to sponsors did not always come so easily for McBride, who was expected to work advertisements into her monologue. Reportedly, the talk show hostess was always working on new and painless ways she could promote products, but she also could be "downright chilly toward sponsors" who had their own ideas about promotion.

Because of her newspaper training, she saw inherent ethical problems in the editorial/advertising relationship. The criticism was often introspective. John Hutchens, a reporter for the New York Herald Tribune, said McBride was troubled that she had folded to the pressure of certain advertisers in post-war broadcasts. During the Red scare she was among those who rejected several guests who had been blacklisted by several advertisers. She was troubled that she had accepted the extra attentions that come to a celebrity through gifts and other considerations from sponsors.

McBride also drew the line at liquor advertising and cigarette advertising. That would seem to come from her training in newspaper journalism. Newspapers have typically refused such advertising. In McBride's case, the prohibition on liquor was from her Calvinistic upbringing. She reputedly said on the air and in her writing that she had taken the temperance pledge

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at the age of 4.[17] Barbara Heggie said it was just as well that McBride had taken the pledge because never before had so many women been so ready to buy things just because another woman told them to: "Otherwise, undoubtedly, the housewives of the eastern seaboard would be lying about their houses in an alcoholic stupor, smoking like chimneys!"[18]

On the other hand, advertisers learned that when McBride believed in something, she could rhapsodize on it, whether it were in so-called "editorial matter" or "advertising matter." On the air, she raved about the George Washington Bridge, the Holland Tunnel and "star-sequined night above radio City."[19] On another program she talked in turn

> about the delicacy of a delphinium's fairy bells, the smooth bland flavor of her favorite mayonnaise, the lazy swoop of a seagull, the cool-merry tinkle of ice in a glass of tea, a child's silken lashes, the appetizing sizzle of a frying steak, the quaint coziness of a New England farmhouse.[20]

It was soon apparent to advertisers that her ability to find the native goodness in nearly everything in the world could translate into her pointing out the worth of their products.

McBride made great strides in advertising for women listeners because she also discovered a great untapped radio audience who bought products -- the American homemaker. McBride, for instance, was the featured persondlity at the 1950 National

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Home Furnishings Show, in which 200 exhibitors filled three floors of the Grand Central Place. Even Bob Lauter of The New York Daily Worker reluctantly said that the advertisements simply gave housewives information, which they might find valuable.

Heggie said the casual businessperson with a product to advertise and a few thousand dollars to invest could not just walk into an agency and buy a share of the devoted public. The product was subjected to McBride's ground rules. McBride told listeners she never recommended a product unless she and her inner circle of friends tried it out. After the probationary period, which included laboratory testing arranged by Estella Karn, McBride's program manager, the talkshow host wrote the commercial plugs herself. Basically, McBride said she had to believe in a product to promote its use. She explained: "I hate to say it, but I'm not a good enough actress to fake anything."

The role Vincent Connolly, her announcer, played was primarily a straight man for her repartee about a sponsor's product. Barbara Heggie called Connolly McBride's fall guy. "Vincent," she demanded, having finished with a guest novelist:

> How do you like best to eat frozen strawberries!?"
>
> "Oh," replied Vincent carelessly, "I just eat them plain, I guess."
>
> "*Vincent*!" . . . McBride looked shocked and there was genuine pain in her voice. "What about strawberry shortcake? Steaming hot crispy brown shortcake, slit through the middle and slathered

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> with butter. Then the luscious sweet crushed berries and thick yellow cream! You eat and eat and eat![26]

McBride often would test products herself. She said she invited "straight man" Connolly over to her apartment to watch her bake a cake with Swansdown flour, so that "he could join me in testimonials to its perfection" -- they had promised her listeners a blow-by blow description.[27] Connolly's account of the episode noted the cake looked beautiful after it came out of the oven, but then he told about the recipe's downfall:

> She cooled it for a little while, but soon she got impatient. Besides, as she pointed out, she had to put the fudge frosting on before it got cold -- and so she began to put the fudge frosting on before it got cold -- and so she began to pour icing on the cake. At first it was all right, but the icing was so rich and thick -- and heavy -- that suddenly the still too-warm cake collapsed exactly as if it had been struck by an earthquake, and as we watched, appalled, it became just a mass of delicious crumbs surrounded by fudge.[28]

McBride would have anecdotes of her own about Connolly. In her work about the radio show, Out of the Air, she wrote that the announcer once went around "shaven and shorn" because she promised listeners that anyone who could guess her upcoming sponsor would get a lock from his head.[29]

She often used others from her extended radio family to help with announcements. For instance, as a guest, Ogla Petrova, the silent film star, said she had not washed her face in 32 years -- until after hearing McBride praise the virtues of a particular product.[30] Janice Devine, McBride's legwoman for the show, said the lucky sponsor sold much more Sweetheart Soap.[31] Petrova's comments made Life.[32]

Another McBride friend, the acerbic Elsa Maxwell, said that in an interview with McBride, the radio celebrity managed to sell her a pair of "footlets" which she couldn't possibly use, even if she knew what they were for.[33]

It was once reported that McBride breezed through a soap commercial, then said: "Now I don't suppose you'll go out and buy any other soap will you. But I suppose you will!"[34] Columnist Sidney Fields said, "The remarkable thing was such honesty sold her sponsor's soap."[35]

Such lyrical and spontaneous outbursts had an effect on listeners. The radio audience trusted Mcbride. Printer's Ink grudgingly called the audience's response to McBride's endorsement of a product, "The most outstanding example of reliance upon the word of a human being in the commercial field."[36] Columnist Bill Slocum of the New York Daily Mirror gave McBride the tribute of saying "she could sell ice boxes to Eskimos (and think of a better cliche than that)."[37] Said Herald Tribune writer Harriet Stix, "For she would not only have been quite certain that the Eskimos greatest need was refrigerators but that [her refrigerators] were the very best for their needs." Stix said McBride only had to say, "Aunt Sophie's Sophisticated Spoonbread" is *satisfactory* and millions of women would rush to their favorite supermarket to buy some."

Her reputation as a sales personality who could sell anything brought about unexpected announcements. A state senator from New York cautioned the public to beware of those door-to-door vendors who prey on housewives, falsely representing themselves as Mary Margaret McBride, Lowell Thomas or Francis Cardinal Spellman.

A listener said McBride could not be topped in food commercials, she "just gets so *emotional* about food." Her monologue turned to the subject of eating a dozen times during a broadcast. Her preoccupation with her stomach was celebrated in radio. In fact, a writer notes in Life magazine that the communal link between McBride and her viewers hinges on matters that feed the imagination:

> The bonds that unite Mary Margaret and her flock (who would plunge headlong into bowls of dehydrated split-pea soup rather than call her by any other name) appear to be based on mutually shared adventures of the mind and stomach.

McBride sold others on her food favorites. Reportedly, Louis Fischer, one of her regulars, said, upon his return from India: "You know, Mary Margaret, the whole time I stayed with Ghandi I thought I would starve, and all I could think of was those Gingies (gingergread) you talk about."

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In fact, because of McBride's good selling of food products, Swansdown had offered her first 15-minute network show, but she turned them down.[45] But she found other sponsors[46] to share the longer broadcast with Swansdown.

Once, when McBride remarked that "a loaf of bread held untold delights for a clever housewife," 34,439 listeners wrote for further details. During a January 1942 broadcast, she offered free samples of noodle soup, and 13,903 sent in requests.[47] When she praised a brand of carrots, local sales jumped from two to ten loads a day.[48] When she mentioned her delight over a new candy bar, the mailman brought her 16,000 requests for it.

However, her all-time record for over-the-air sales was a network endorsement of a certain brand of bread, which set a new all-time record for a single broadcast -- 92,824 listeners wrote, asking for further details.[49] Perhaps, this was her promotion of Tip Top Bread, in which McBride asked viewers to write in for embroidered initials.

McBride talked about the promotion to professionals at the annual Radio and Business Conference, saying that "one sentence can sell more than a whole mess of words,"[50] delivered in her rambling style:

> I get very disappointed and really provoked at you all when a lot of you don't respond after I tell you that all you have to do is get those two-inch embroidered initials that the bakers of enriched Tip Top Bread have for you is just to write your name and address on a postcard to me and add the

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> two initials you want, the color, red or white, and the name and address of the dealer who sells you enriched Tip Top Bread. There, it's easy.[51]

McBride usually devoted the first 30 minutes of her programs to matters of the mind. Then she moved to matters of the stomach.[52] When her first radio show on WOR (CBS flagship station/CBS network, 1934-1940) was three-quarters of an hour long, McBride advertised twelve products, many of those food items; for an hour-long program, she added four more.[53] Each radio sponsor paid $175 per week and considered themselves fortunate to do so.[54]

Later, on the flagship station of WEAF (later WNBC/NBC network, 1940-1950), 12 advertisers paid $275 a week to the station for radio time and $150 a week (total -- $425) to McBride for mentioning their products during every weekday broadcast. There were two dozen or so sponsors on the waiting list.[55] The fee continued to climb. By 1948, according to a Life article, McBride's WNBC sponsors paid $475 each for McBride to ask something like -- "Ah, the Alpes-Maritimes! Do they have Glaubenfaust's pumpernickel there?"[56]

Sometimes, McBride would talk long about a product, then list the others, with an instruction to listeners to buy twice as much as usual. At the premier ABC network broadcast, Ben Gross hailed McBride as "the greatest woman in radio."[57] She was at the zenith of her radio career -- the year was 1950. To be fair to her all her sponsors at the premier broadcast over WJZ, the network's the flagship station, McBride said she would read the commercials alphabetically -- and it reportedly took all of 20 minutes to go from Bohack Stores to Wheaties." Jack Gould of The New York Times said McBride then told her listeners, "You ought to do everything I tell to you do." Gould answered back in his column, "Mary Margaret we just can't do [all of] it this morning."[58]

The audience never could judge when she would turn from a serious topic of discussion promote a project. Allen Churchill said in The American Mercury that her talent lay in making almost everybody forget a commercial is a commercial.[59] Once, when McBride was talking in a far-away voice about Mont-Saint-Michel, she said, "There is nothing else in the world like its Gothic fortress abbey -- so grim and beautiful on its high island. I was thinking about Mother Poularde's omelets . . . ."[60]

McBride would go along way for a sponsor. She moved her entire broadcast to the Wallpaper Style Show at the Waldorf-Astoria. Is it any wonder that during the broadcast, she was named winner of the 1937 award of the Wall Paper Institute.[61]

She once told her listeners that she went all the way to Boston to check out the manufacturing of a new brand of shortening, which had not been released to the public yet. The use of shortening was becoming a reality, although housewives favored lard for cooking. The following dialogue shows how McBride gave her stamp of approval by weaving the commercial into a long, rambling monologue about the trip.

The company had been testing the product for four years. She told her listeners that at the plant, she was taken around the laboratories by four of the nicest people you'd ever want to meet anywhere."[62] The laboratories were "spic and span, all tiled in blue and white, the same cool blue and white that decorates the can of that wonderful shortening."[63]

> They fried doughnuts for her -- the most delicious you ever tasted -- and gave her a piece of cake, a butterscotch cake, engagement cake it was called, and if a girl served that to her best beau she'd get her diamond right away, that is, if she wanted a diamond.

Without missing a beat, McBride shifted the subject to the Massachusetts' home of Louisa May Alcott, who wrote "Little Women" and "Little Men."

> And she saw Louisa May's dairy and the last entry she made before she died concerned the wages she paid a servant, and somehow Miss McBride felt there was something awfully nice about that.
>
> And, you know, the girls in "Little Women" were really Louisa May's sisters, and the one who is called Amy in the book was a really an artist and she was always painting things, and one winter when Louisa May was ill she painted some nasturtiums on a panel because there was no money for hothouse flowers, and the panel is still in that little room.
>
> In some mystical fashion, Miss Mcbride switched the subject to tea and before you knew it she was

> singing the praises of a certain brand to listeners try out with mint and had they tried it with orange and had they tried it with lemon? Would they, please? And did they know it was the philosopher's drink in ancient China? And, by the way. Vincent, Vincent Connolly, the announcer, had been on vacation in London, and there he had seen a tearoom with a sign that read, "Tea drives away the droops," and both she and Vincent thought that was worth repeating to the listeners and didn't they think it was amusing?[64]

She then introduced Marjorie Medary, the author of the books for girls called *Prairie Anchorage* and *College Crinoline*. As the guest talked, McBride steered the conversation to Cornell College and Civil War days, when girls were told not "to bother their heads with a subject called natural philosophy" and how the author got her material out of diaries and the correspondence of her own grandmother.[65]

While she talked, McBride told listeners she was eating ice cream from a big sample container and she was "yum-yumming as she chatted":[66] "It was lemon ice cream with crunchy little candy in it and you couldn't imagine until you tried it, how awfully, awfully good it was on a hot day, wasn't it, Vincent? And Vincent yum-yummed, too, for the listeners."[67]

> In the last minutes of her broadcast, Miss McBride talked swiftly about a miraculous kind of milk that took off pounds and pounds if you are fat and put on pounds and pounds if you are thin (it just

> balances the system, that was all, put in Vincent) and about a perfectly marvelous *electric iron that* practically worked by itself, you might say....[68]

Apparently, McBride was an associative thinker. Bennett Cerf, who believed there was a kind of method to this madness of allowing the products of sponsors to creep unobtrusively into conversation, commented, "Mary Margaret's thoughts are about as scattered as a Times Square crowd on New Year's Eve, her approach as vague as a payoff punch by Joe Louis.[69]

In one of those commercials, McBride admonishes an elderly poet, a guest who has just expressed his preference for the bachelor state:

> Now, now, I must send you this pamphlet sent out by the Metropolitan Life Insurance company. They're one of my sponsors. Did you know that the mortality rate for bachelors is 42 percent higher than for married men and that they are three times as likely to end up in a mental institution?[70]

Even negative advertising from the radio celebrity paid off in sales. After canvassing a certain area where a soft drink was reputedly sold, McBride had not seen anybody drinking it. She told the radio audience the joke was on her -- nobody was drinking the product at the picnic as she had said on the air, although they were drinking every other brand. Even though the sponsor complained about her frankness in the commercial, McBride's honest sales pitch caused a 900 percent in sales in the

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several months following.

Another sponsor complained that McBride had not given his product enough time on the air. In a subsequent broadcast, she chastised the advertiser in a hurt tone; listeners in turn chided him for complaining. McBride said the sponsor had

> roasted the way I sold his merchandise . . . and I just read his letter of criticism right out loud to my listeners. . . . They were phoning and writing him and practically picketing him to let him know he couldn't treat Mary Margaret that way!

Apparently, the sponsor had called the station within an hour, asking McBride to call off her listeners -- but it was too late.

Sometimes, guests tried to mimic her style of handling commercials. Corey Ford and Alastair McBain, who had gone to the Aleutians to appear on her remote broadcast, took the entire program out of McBride's hands, down to the small details of reciting the commercials in her homespun style.

McBride once locked John Golden in her kitchen before a broadcast, saying, "I'll let you out when I'm ready for you." She said, "We started the show and had talked about two minutes when the listeners heard John [Golden] breaking down the door and talking at the top of his lungs about my gingerbread."

But in the days preceding and during World War II, McBride said laughter was one of the commodities she was peddling. She

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relates that on her ninth anniversary on radio Fred Waring and Olsen took over an entire program, talking so much about the commercials that there was hardly anything else:

> They threw the ball back and forth, ignoring me completely, and even the control room abetted them, for on the recording my attempts at protest were drowned out completely. The audience packed into our biggest studio at NBC didn't mind the commercial aspect and laughed and applauded their way throughout the gay hour.[79]

There was more of the same from Waring. On his very first appearance on her program, Waring had arrived with a poem set to music in which all the program's products were mentioned.[80] Carl Van Doren also came up with some plugs for her sponsors. Later, McBride would cite some of these Vandorisms to her readers.[81]

At the height of her radio career, she edited How to Be a Successful Advertising Woman (Whittlesey House, 1948, $8),[82] which included career advice from fifteen advertising women, ranging from copywriting to space-selling. In connection with its publication, McBride broadcast a special coast-to-coast hookup of the luncheon of Advertising Women of New York, in which she interviewed the top women of the profession.[83] No doubt, McBride's program manager, Estella Karn, had seen the greater potential of such a program.

Women in advertising increased in numbers, from 200 to 3,000 between World War I and World War II (by contrast, there were

32,000 men in the business by mid-century).[84] The book catalogues the trends, and notes that 35 percent of the employers in advertising advise young women to specialize in areas of food, fashion, cosmetics, and home furnishings and equipment.[85] The secretarial job is the most frequently recommended starting point, and the "quickest road to the top is to be always helpful."[86] The book also tells job hopefuls "what not to be." Sally Martin of Mademoiselle said in one chapter, "Prima donnas, putterers, professional feminists aren't welcome."[87]

McBride had respected connections in the publishing and advertising fields. Almost a decade earlier, in 1938, her alma mater named her the first woman to receive its medal for Distinguished Service to Journalism.[88] Her advertising book included a bibliography compiled by E.K. Johnston, then-professor of advertising with the School of Journalism, at Missouri.

Of course, her own career was one of the biographies listed in her book on successful women in advertising.[89] It must have been nice to have the "little perk" editorship can bring. However, the inclusion was based on the apparent progress McBride had made in the field of business. New York Governor Thomas Dewey honored McBride for outstanding achievement, along with 57 over well-known businesswomen.[90] In 1952, the Sales Executives Club of New York named her one of America's 12 greatest salesmen -- she was *the only woman* in the group.[91] The sales*woman* joined an distinguished roster that included Conrad Hilton and the Rev. Dr. Norman Vincent Peale.[92]

McBride said she came to enjoy commercials, overcoming her background in newspaper training in which "editorial was editorial and advertising was advertising, and never the twain could meet."

McBride publicly stated the ethical dilemma she faced even as she continued to mix advertising and editorial matter. In so many words, McBride questioned her own ethics even as she continued to enthusiastically battle the boundaries between the two areas. This makes one wonder if she truly could have dismissed her reservations so summarily, and without a thorough examination. It could be hypothesized that she addressed the argument only to vocalize the criticisms she was hearing from those in her profession. It is apparent that with such statements McBride won over naysayers to her broadcasting techniques.

It is a more apparent that McBride's reservations had been subsumed by a greater ethical maxim -- a utilitarian principle, based on economics. She decided to follow what aptly could be called the economy of "the church bazaar," which turns on the axiom of "the sweet biscuit."

Allow this researcher to explain.

Everybody knows that a church is meant for worship. People go to church to nurture their souls, to find spiritual sustenance. However, nearly every church sells sweet biscuits in the basement. Even so, the collective membership does not see itself as contributing to a commercial marketplace. They are not the rapacious moneychangers of the temple. Rather, the church

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community goes to the church bazaar so that members can feed their need for socialization. It is a necessary sustenance.

In the marketplace of the church bazaar, everyone gets something. The person who makes the sweet biscuits from scratch can proudly point to something made with her/his own hands with very little expenditure. The minister steps down from the pulpit to get to know the congregation in the basement, one on one, as he/she breaks bread with them. The persons who buy the products have contributed a bit to the institution's missionary fund. The missionaries are pleased as well. Tangible associations of trust are bridged across the miles of separation from the mother church. After the bazaar, the church janitor munches left-over goodies from a plate left on the counter of the basement kitchen. The sweet biscuit has a note attached to it: "Enjoy!"

With this a-good-time-was-had-by-all analogy, the paradox can be understood. As the foremost pioneer in her field, McBride was creating her own successful medium. She intuitively was bothered by the ethics of mixing advertising and editorial matter, and she was apparently uncertain about how to solve the problem. For her, the answer to the dilemma ultimately turned on practical economics.

She stepped down from her radio pulpit to mix with her congregation of listeners, to sell them the sweet biscuits they clamored for. She broke bread with them over the air. The sponsors' "missionary fund" allowed them to proselytize to the more distant unbelievers, so that they could be brought into the fold. After the broadcasts, the network executives nibbled on some very tasty tidbits left on the advertising counter.

Can you argue with the economy of "the sweet biscuit" when it makes everybody in the church bazaar so happy?

The happy story of the techniques exercised by Mary Margaret McBride are housed primarily in the Library of Congress. Her archives can be found in two collections, relatively untapped. Six feet of documents in four boxes can be found in the Manuscript Division. The collection is not catalogued. Among the varied paraphernalia, documents include published articles, private letters, programming lists, advertisements and lists of advertisers.

Another collection is housed in the Sound Recording Section. Approximately six feet of material is extant, including McBride's published articles and articles from other authors written about her radio program. Janet McKee, with the Sound Recording Section, has catalogued much of the archival paraphernalia in this collection. She is systematically transferring the recordings of the McBride broadcasts to a more permanent taping medium, developing an index as she proceeds. It was once estimated by Karn, McBride's program manager, that there were 25,000 radio broadcast interviews. Therefore, McKee's work is cut out for her. In her role, McKee listens to broadcasts, transcribes them, and learns all about how McBride "sold sweet biscuits" with her unleavened bread of more sober thought.

It once was rumored that playwright Channing Bullock was

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going to write a play about Mary Margaret McBride (in May 1943). Tecumsah supposedly asked Bullock about the rumor. He said: "I'm never going to write another play" -- but it was then rumored that he would continue to turn out magazine pieces, books, occasional lectures, and now and then listen to McBride tell all about "all about life in a biscuit factory, on the radio."

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Endnotes

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5. Harriet Stix, "Sincerity Is 'Secret' Behind Her Success" in New York Herald Tribune (November 28, 1960).

6. Bennett Cerf, "Here Comes McBride" (Portrait), Trade Winds Column in Saturday Review of Literature 30 (March 1, 1947): p. 5.

7. Gross, I Looked and I Listened, p. 185.

8. Gross, I Looked and I Listened, p. 185.

9. Barbara Heggie, "The Forty-Five-Minute Tempo," profile on Mary Margaret McBride in The New Yorker 18 (December 19, 1942): p. 28.

10. Tex McCrary and Jinx Faulkenburg, "New York Close-Up" in New York Herald Tribune (April 5, 1950).

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12. McCrary and Faulkenburg, "New York Close-Up," Herald Tribune (April 5, 1950).

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15. John K. Hutchens, "Out of the Air," book review in New York Herald Tribune (December 2, 1960).

16. Hutchens, "Out of the Air," Herald Tribune (December 2, 1960).

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24. Lucy Greenbaum [Freeman], "All About M.M.Mc." in The New York Times (May 28, 1944).

25. Barbara Heggie, "Mary Margaret's Miracle" in Woman's Home Companion (April 1949), p. 82.

26. Heggie, "Mary Margaret's Miracle," Woman's Home Companion, p. 82.

27. McBride, Out of the Air, about the golden decades of radio broadcasting (New York: Doubleday, 1960), p. 80.

28. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 81.

29. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 93.

30. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 89.

31. Cerf, "Here Comes McBride," Saturday Review of Literature, p. 5.

32. McBride, Out of the Air, p. 89.

33. Elsa Maxwell, "Elsa Maxwell's Party Line" in New York Evening Post (Sept. 15, 1943).

34. Sidney Fields, "Only Human" Column in The New York Mirror (October 24, 1953).

35. Fields, "Only Human," *The New York Mirror* (October 24, 1953).

36. McBride, *Out of the Air*, p. 65, p. 195+.

37. Bill Slocum, "A Great Gal," column in *New York Mirror* (November 27, 1960).

38. Stix, "Sincerity Is . . . ," *Herald Tribune* (November 28, 1960).

39. Stix, "Sincerity Is . . . ," in *Herald Tribune* (November 28, 1960).

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47. Philip Hamburger, "Mary Margaret McBride: A Supersaleswoman Shares Adventures of Mind and Stomach With a Host of Radio Listeners" in *Life* 17 (December 4, 1944), p. 47.

48. Small, "Private Life of a Pied Piper," *Collier's*, p. 37.

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A Study in Contrasts: The Ideology and Reality of Newsroom Work in the Late 19th Century

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A Study in Contrasts: The Ideology and Reality of Newsroom Work in the Late 19th Century

This essay deals with newsroom workers of the U.S. commercial or "mainstream" press in the latter half of the 19th century. It focuses on the growth of a hierarchical division of newsroom labor. It examines the contrast in the conditions and ideology of newsroom work, linking them to cultural, political and economic developments in the wider society. It contrasts newsroom workers' organizing experiences with those of typographers, concluding that the ideology of newsroom work hindered attempts to organize.

A Study in Contrasts: The Ideology and Reality of Newsroom Work in the Late 19th Century

The latter half of the 19th century, "a period of industrial and continental expansion and political conservatism" (Hofstadter 1955, 3), solidified two basic changes in U.S. journalism: A shift in emphasis from editorials to news, and an increasing focus on advertising revenues. The former was a cultural shift and the latter a shift in political economy; together they formed modern journalism's basic premise: the unity of commercialism and political independence (Nerone 1987, 401). This has had long-term consequences for newspapers' content, business practices and work routines. This essay deals with these topics in terms of newsroom work in the U.S. commercial or "mainstream" press in the latter half of the 19th century. It starts with the development of a commercial model of journalism. Then it focuses on the growth of a division of newsroom labor, a process which formed a hierarchy of power which persists to this day. Then it examines the contrast between the conditions and the ideology of newsroom work, linking this to cultural, political and economic developments in the wider society.

While some histories of labor/management relations (Edwards 1979; Gordon, Edwards and Reich 1982) tend to portray conflict between these two groups as shaping workplace conditions in a given era, newsroom workers in the late 19th century did not, as a rule, confront management. Rarely did they withhold their labor. Unlike typesetters and other printing crafts workers, newroom workers' efforts to form labor unions were minimal and short-lived. Rather, their history is one of grudging accommodation to unpleasant circumstances. It is a history of collectively felt oppression most often expressed in individual acts of defiance -- usually, quitting one newspaper to seek work at another, or else leaving journalism altogether. This essay will suggest reasons why their history is not one of collective action.

A Commercial Model of Journalism

In the early national period, the most prominent ideology of U.S. journalism was that of impartiality in the name of public service. The most common newspaper was the country weekly; there also were partisan papers, founded and supported by political parties. Although very different in content and readership, neither was particularly profitable. The economics of journalism in this era would later be described as follows: "Most of the smaller dailies and a majority of the weeklies lived in a hand-to-mouth fashion" (King 1895, 588). The key change came with "the integration of the newspaper into the market economy that itself was just coming of age" (Nerone 1987, 397). As the newspaper began to shift "from a craft to an industry" (Ibid.), a commercial model of journalism began to evolve. Its primary focus was neither impartiality nor public service, but profits. This new model had fundamental consequences for the practice of journalism, treating news as a commodity and rationalizing production (Botein 1980; Rorabaugh 1986; Saxton 1984).

The penny papers were arguably the most successful example of the commercial model of journalism in the antebellum period, if success is defined in terms of profitability and longevity. Ironically, this very success helped reorient the penny press away from the working-class interests which its earliest editors had tended to support (Saxton 1984). This shift is shown most dramatically in the rise of startup costs. Horace Greeley started the New York *Tribune* in 1841 with "inconsiderable pecuniary resources, and only a promise from political friends to aid to the extent of $2,000, of which but one half was ever realized" (quoted in Bleyer 1927, 213, 214). In 1840, Charles A. Dana, editor of the New York *Sun* from 1868-1897, would later estimate, $5,000 to $10,000 sufficed to start a daily (Lee 1937, 166). By 1850, that figure had risen to $100,000, according to Dana (Ibid.). "What was at the beginning of this century the occupation of gossips in taverns and at street corners," wrote E.L. Godkin (1890, 198), founder of *The Nation* and an editor of the New York *Post*, "had by the middle of the century risen to the rank of a new industry, requiring large capital and a huge plant."

This transition greatly restricted entry into the field: As startup costs soared, the class background of prospective publisher/editors rose. "Of the ten men listed as publishers of first wave penny dailies . . .eight began as artisans" and most had some involvement with working class movements (Saxton 1984, 221). When Henry J. Raymond founded the New York *Times* in 1851, he had "the backing of a group of investors who subscribed $100,000. . .before the first issue. . .came off the press" (Ibid., 222). When Dana bought the New York *Sun* in 1868, he paid $175,000. This was "a terrific bargain" (Steele 1993, 78), in the view of a recent biographer of Dana, which suggests how expensive entry into the daily newspaper field had become. In an 1894 address, Dana estimated that starting a daily newspaper would cost at least $1 million (Dana 1897, 80, 81). Thus, in the space of some 55 years, startup costs had risen from a few thousand dollars to $1 million. No wonder that after mid-century, artisan editors would be "limited to small circulation newspapers in western towns. . .or to the radical and labor press" (Saxton 1984, 222).

As it grew, the commercial newspaper became increasingly autocratic and hierarchical internally. An early 1850s daguerreotype of Horace Greeley and his editorial staff (Stevens 1913) is a portrait of colleagues, similarly dressed and all looking equally formal and authoritative. But by the turn of the century, the socioeconomic differences between a publisher and his newsroom staff were such that the president of the International Typographical Union would describe many newsrooms' working conditions as "absolutely revolting to free men" (Donnelly 1901, 275). This transformation was a basic part of the development of U.S. journalism, a process which intensified after the Civil War. Compared with other models of journalism, the commercial model was best suited to benefit from economic growth. After the Civil War, the United States

> was able to exploit (its). . .rich agricultural land (and) vast raw materials. . .to transform itself at a stunning pace. (From 1865 to 1898,) wheat production increased by 256 percent, corn by 222 percent, refined sugar by 460 percent, coal by 800 percent.
>
> By 1914. . .it was the largest oil producer in the world. . . . Its energy consumption. . .was equal to that of Britain, Germany, France, Russia and Austria-Hungary together (Kennedy 1987, 242, 244).

This growth included the rise of standardized national brands, which turned to advertising as a means of informing the population of the existence of a new product (e.g., Royal Baking Powder, Coca-Cola) and of persuading people to buy one brand rather than another. Similarly, the rise of department stores figured prominently in the growth of advertising. From 1867 to 1900, the annual amount spent on advertising in the United States increased from $50 million to $542 million (U.S. Census Bureau 1975, 856). Mass media were an integral part of this process: Newspapers and periodicals were an ideal vehicle for such advertising, and from 1879 to 1909 the proportion of their revenues that they received from advertising rose from 44 percent to 60 percent (Lee 1937, 324). Publications of social reform movements such as organized labor, suffragists, utopians, populists and socialists did not receive the volume of advertising which enabled the commercial press to prosper and expand. They were not ideal vehicles for advertising because they did not strive to avoid giving offense. Quite the contrary, they existed in order to offer public discourse on often controversial issues (Armstrong 1981, 31-60).

In size, visibility and influence, the newspapers that became dominant were those that catered to advertisers and treated news as a commodity. These "commercial" newspapers eagerly sought advertising: This meant avoiding political partisanship while "shaping the news to please advertisers" (Baldasty 1993, 113). The latter took two forms: publishing "puffs," favorable mentions of advertisers in news stories, and publishing favorable profiles of "businesses or businesspeople" (Ibid.). In contrast to the early national period, newspaper publishing was becoming quite profitable: From 1870 to 1900, the number of daily newspapers increased from 574 to 2,226, while the U.S. population increased from 39.9 million to 76 million (Lee 1937, 718; U.S. Census Bureau 1975, 810, 8). By late in the century, the managing editor of the New York *Mail and Express* (Coates 1892, 3) would write that "the most important part of the newspaper. . .is the writing of advertisements. . . .The advertising department of a newspaper offers more rich rewards than any other."

The pursuit of advertising brought prosperity to the commercial press. Yet it also laid the foundations for two basic changes in the political economy of U.S. journalism. One was a gradual attrition in the number of daily newspapers. Just as the development of daily newspapers had barred artisanal editors, in time it discriminated among capitalists. "Ads swelled the size of the paper each day, requiring larger plants, more paper and ink, and bigger staffs" (Bagdikian 1992, 176). In the early 1830s, de Tocqueville (1945, 194) observed that "the facility with which newspapers can be established produces a multitude of them." By 1918 Oswald Garrison Villard, editor of *The Nation* and the New York *Evening Post*, would write that "the decreasing number of newspapers in our larger American cities is due to the enormously increased cost of maintaining great dailies" (p. 62). The number of U.S. dailies peaked in 1909 at 2,452, when the U.S. population was 90.5 million (Lee 1937, 718; U.S. Census Bureau 1975, 8). By contrast, in 1992 there were 1,570 dailies, for a population of 255 million (Newspaper Association of America, 1993; U.S. Statistical Abstract:1993, 1).[1]

This decrease in numbers was accompanied by an increase in size and prosperity for the remaining dailies, which brought another basic change in the commercial press: the development of a corporate structure of ownership and management. By late in the century, U.S. capitalism was in transition from a proprietary form to a corporate form (Sklar 1988). While this created far greater advertising revenues, the consequent rise in the costs of starting and running a daily newspaper necessitated changes in ownership. The incorporation of newspapers has received "virtually no" study (Nerone 1987, 397). But one can note that in 1849, Horace Greeley offered stock in the New York *Tribune* to his employees (Bleyer 1927, 220, 211), and that the New York *Times* was founded in 1851 "as a company with a capitalization of $100,000" put up by "half a dozen 'upstate' business men" (Ibid., 239). When Dana bought the New York *Sun*, he did so with the financial backing of a group of 29 investors: "The stock of our company," he wrote a friend, "is increased to $350,000 in order to pay for this new acquisition" (quoted in Stone 1938, 30, 31). These examples suggest that by mid-century, commercial newspapers were starting to move away from the situation where one person was the sole owner. By late in the century, incorporation clearly had arrived; a veteran journalist would refer in passing to "the great corporations now controlling the leading newspapers" (Shanks 1892, 12).

This organizational shift also is suggested by the founding of the American Newspaper Publishers Association, in 1887 (Emery 1950). A report of its founding focused on publishers' desire to avoid "irresponsible advertising agents" and to learn of "developments and improvements" in machinery such as printing presses, typesetting equipment and the typewriter (*The Journalist* 1892b, 60). But the A.N.P.A. was also a response to labor unions: At its founding conference, one publisher stressed that an employers' association could stand up to unionized printers who "think they can move the world" (quoted in Emery 1950, 24). The editor of the trade publication *The Journalist*, who was by no means a union advocate, noted with amusement that some A.N.P.A. members viewed him as "a labor agitator and incipient Anarchist" (Forman 1891, 8). Yet his views, and one of the A.N.P.A.'s main purposes, were apparent in the tone of his comment on a typesetters' strike at the Chattanooga *Times*: "There is a general impression, becoming more and more solidly fixed in the compositorial mind, that a strike on an A.N.P.A. paper does not pay" (*The Journalist* 1890, 13).

Begun during a time of labor unrest in society, the A.N.P.A. was a complement of the trend toward incorporation. It was a step toward marking more clearly the identity of newspaper owners, reflecting their increasing wealth and power, relative to unorganized newsroom workers. Typographical workers had organized in various unions since the late 18th century, with the I.T.U. appearing in 1852 (Stevens 1913, 34-207; Stewart 1905; Tracy 1913, 17-113). Yet newsroom work in the latter half of the 19th century did not evolve within a context of collective action. By the time that newsroom workers did begin to organize, in the 1890s, the basic structure of newspaper management and of the division of newsroom labor had been set in place.

The Evolution of Newsroom Work

In today's newsrooms the nature of work and the structure of power resemble those circumstances which were emerging in the first few decades after the Civil War. A comparison is instructive. Characterizing modern U.S. journalism, Bagdikian (1992, 155) wrote that "the taboo against criticism of the system of contemporary enterprise is, in its unspoken way, almost as complete within mainstream journalism. . .in the United States as criticism of communism is explicitly forbidden in the Soviet Union." A parallel to this control over news content exists in the contemporary newsroom's hierarchy of power, as suggested by this letter to the editor in the trade magazine *Editor & Publisher*:

> As an ex-newsman, I was amused by the recent flap in Miami about the publisher of the Miami *Herald* overruling his editorial board and endorsing Reagan for President. A fundamental question seems to have been overlooked. Who works for whom at the Miami *Herald*?
>
> My basic sympathies are with the publisher. His financial investment, or the investment he represents, gives him greater rights than the editorial workers.
>
> High-flown journalistic theories to the contrary, a newspaper is a business. It can't be run by consensus like a democracy, not if the rights that accrue to property are to continue to have meaning (Gildea 1985, 5).

This attitude was equally entrenched in the commercial press more than a century ago, as shown in an address to the Social Science Association in 1881: "The newspaper is a private enterprise. Its object is to make money for its owner" (Warner 1881, 5). This view was reflected in the development of commercial newspapers' autocratic internal policies. Most country weekly editors in the early national period had had little or no staff; for that era's partisan papers, "the editorial force . . .consisted of two or three political writers and one news editor, who was at the same time general reporter, 'paste and scissors,' and money editor" (Shanks 1867, 512). But the commercial press' emphasis on gathering news meant more staff, and this fundamental change required some way to control the labor force that was being created.

The solution was a hierarchy of power in the newsroom. "Simple control" was typical not just of newspapers but of most enterprises until late in the 19th century: a single entrepreneur, "usually flanked by a small coterie of foremen and managers" who "exercised power personally" (Edwards 1979, 18, 19). For the commercial newspaper, the editor/publisher was indeed an autocrat who would "exhort workers, bully and threaten them, reward good performance, (and) hire and fire on the spot" (Ibid.). So the division of newsroom labor occurred within a strict hierarchy of power, which was accompanied by a premise of public service. An initial step in this development was the establishment of the position of reporter, a process enabled by "the evolution of the social organizations that produced news" (Nerone 1987, 396). In 1840, "the staff of the larger daily had been increased from an editor who wrote the leaders, corrected the communications and read the proofs, with an assistant who did the local work, to two editors and two reporters" (King 1895, 588). The Mexican War and later the Civil War supplied impetus for more systematic newsgathering (O'Brien 1918, 168, 188), which the advent of the steamship, the railroad and the telegraph helped make possible (Shanks 1867, 514-518; Smith 1891). By 1843, the New York *Sun* employed "eight editors and reporters" (O'Brien 1918, 157). By 1850 the staff of the New York *Tribune* "consisted of 12 editors and reporters" (Bleyer 1927, 221).

As newspapers added more reporters and editors, the editor/publisher needed managerial help. The appearance of the positions of city editor and managing editor in the 1850s signalled that more tasks were being separated from the editor's work. The city editor would supervise the reporters, while the managing editor would "act as a link" between the editor and the various "subeditors" (O'Brien 1918, 262). While reporters always had been regarded as laborers, editors were not. But over time the addition of more editorial positions gradually led to their shift in status from manager to worker. This process preserved the hierarchy of newsroom power, maintaining "simple control" by keeping to a minimum the size of the managerial coterie. The shift in the status of some editing work is illustrated by the emergence and subsequent evolution of the position of copy editor (Solomon 1994). After the Civil War, the tasks today associated with copy editing began to appear as a separate work position:

> At the desk near the door we find Dr. John B. Wood. . .through whose hands passes all the telegraph and news matter. . . . The doctor prides himself as a thorough grammarian, and his brilliant feats with the blue pencil have frequently gashed long reports and letters to the consternation of their authors. (Cummings 1868, 108, 109)

Increasingly it was the case that, rather than the managing editor or the city editor, another editor would edit the copy. At this point virtually all editing jobs were considered to be managerial work. But as commercial papers continued to grow, the division of newsroom labor that had created the position of night editor, in time brought further specialization and separation of this position's tasks. Judging all news stories' worth remained the work of the night editor or city editor, who also made changes in content, tone and structure. Any remaining such changes, but primarily headline writing and technical editing -- correcting grammar, spelling, factual errors, etc. -- became the work of a separate editing position: This editor was considered to be an assistant of a senior editor, usually the city editor, the night city editor or the night editor. With this change came the name of copy editor, or, at first, copy reader.

Initially, the copy editor had two claims to status and authority. First, he worked closely with a senior editor, often the city editor, who typically had the authority to hire staff and decide what is newsworthy. Second, the copy editor trimmed reporters' copy, at a time when many, if not most, reporters were paid by the word. Under the "space and time" system, "widespread by 1880 and after" (Smythe 1980, 2), reporters were paid largely according to how many of their words were published.[2] Both of these bases for status and authority proved transient. The "space and time" system faded after World War I; also, as newspaper staffs grew, copy editing became the work of a distinct department. By 1884, it was common practice that "a special department condensed and prepared news and wrote headlines, distinct from one that edited telegraphic reports and correspondence" (Lee 1937, 629).[3]

With the establishment of a separate "copy desk," with its own head copy reader, or "slotman," the copy editor's authority and status now derived from the slotman, who typically played no part in the other stages of the newsgathering or editing process (Bleyer 1913, 258, 259). Shorn of direct links with the city editor or the night editor, the copy editor became one of a number of anonymous editors, whose "bundle of tasks" had been narrowed to writing headlines and doing a restricted version of final editing.[4] These tasks were supplementary: "It becomes the copy reader's duty to assure that every 'story'. . .is written in good English, is clear, concise and consecutive in statement, with all its features given appropriate weight" (Bridge 1892, 13). This work's status was much lower than that of deciding which topics were newsworthy or which reporter would cover a story. In effect, copy editing work was transformed from managerial to labor, as suggested by this anecdote: At the New York *World*, a trade journal reported in 1892, "The fate of the copy readers is. . .doleful. A time clock is to be used, to keep tabs on them like so many day laborers. Copy is to be stamped when handed to a man, and stamped when returned" ("Free Lance" 1892, 4).

Two themes suggest the copy editor's descent. First, its tasks were viewed as being lackluster, if not unpleasant, when compared with reporting or with other editing work. Repetitive and narrowly focused, copy editing was "in many respects. . .akin to literary drudgery" (Bridge 1892, 13). A reporter described the New York *Herald's* night desk: "Oh, what a dreary spot it is" (Howard 1891a, 4). Second, copy editing was described as being thankless work: "The post of copy reader on the (San Francisco) *Examiner* is a thankless job and there has been a still hunt for some one to fill that position" ("Golden Gate" 1892, 11). Will Irwin (1911, 35) lauded Selah M. Clarke for having "put genius into the ungrateful task of copy-reading."

The copy editor's transition reflected newsroom managements' ability to define and redefine a job's tasks, skills, status and authority, in the absence of sustained worker resistance. The resulting structure of newsroom work has endured into the 20th century, as has the grim status of copy editing. A biography of the New York *Times* described copy editing as "probably the most tedious and unheralded craft in the newsroom." (Talese 1969, 61, 62). Recalling the early 1960s at the New York *Times*, a former reporter noted that, concerning the copy desk, he was advised, "The game is to sneak some color or interpretation past that line of humorless zombies" (Darnton 1975, 180). In 1993 the editor of a Catholic newspaper in Hartford, Conn., resigned after accusing the local archbishop of censorship tantamount to direct control: "I was reduced to a glorified copy editor" (quoted in Goldman 1993, B-5).

The copy editor's history also illustrates the forming of divisions among newsroom workers. Reporters and copy editors developed somewhat different and opposed identities, in good part because of their respective tasks: Editing someone else's work often means second-guessing them. In an atmosphere where deadline pressures are routine, such decisions became contested and resented often enough to become entrenched in an enmity that exists to this day. "A colleague-group," noted sociologist Everett C. Hughes (1984, 319), "will stubbornly defend its own right to define mistakes, and to say in the given case whether one has been made."

Especially under the "space and time" system, which linked pay to the number of published words, reporters not only competed among themselves but then submitted their work (and hence their prospects for pay) to the copy editors. Thus the growing division of newsroom labor contributed to an atmosphere hostile to forming a collective identity.

Pay and Work Conditions

The evolution of newsroom work occurred as the commercial model of journalism increasingly emphasized news, the product of its newsroom workers' labors. By late in the century, E.L. Godkin (1890, 201) would reflect that "the role of the American press in the growth of journalism has been distinctly the development of news-gathering as a business, leaving to the work of comment only a subordinate place. . . ." (also see Ottarson 1869). Similarly, John A. Cockerill (1892, 12), editor of the New York *Advertiser* and president of the New York Press Club, wrote that "the most important contents of a newspaper are its news. . . . The day of the editorial page is past." Ironically, the commercial press's emphasis on news did not mean that its newsroom workers were treated well. Quite the contrary, their wages and working conditions are the clearest indicator of their failure to contest managerial control effectively.

Their plight was sufficiently poignant as to be well-known outside the newsroom. In particular their low wages received attention: As early as 1873, *The Nation* (1873, 38) editorialized about journalism that "there is probably no industry of modern times in which the part played by labor is so large, and the share in the profits received by labor so small." A government study a decade later reached a similar conclusion: "I find the. . .wages paid ($32.09) for each $100 of gross product to be considerably lower than it then was in industries of this group ($51.30), while the product per capita, gross, in the same comparison is much higher. . .($843.51)" (North 1884, 83).

Yet the debate about newsroom workers' wages was not one-sided. As a benchmark, one may note that in 1895 the average annual pay for federal employees in executive departments, the highest figure among 11 work categories listed, was $1,104 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1975, 168). A national survey put the annual salary of "news editors, copy-readers, and space-writers" at $1,800, "matching the pay of a captain in the army or a junior lieutenant in the navy;" reporters averaged $1,200, "as much as the average income of the majority of those engaged in any commercial pursuit" (King 1895, 593). This study estimated "the average pay of journalists of all kinds on all of the dailies" at $1,500 (Ibid.). Yet three years later, another study placed that figure at $1,109, contending that journalism was not worthy of "serious attention of educated young men seeking a permanent occupation that will yield an income sufficient for present needs and the necessary provision for old age" (Avenel 1898, 367, 366). A similar thought was put more succinctly by a newsroom worker: "No matter how bright you may be, how loyal you may have been, there is nothing but a bare existence in the business unless you have a proprietary interest in the paper you are working for" (J.K. 1890, 5). A loftier view acknowledged that "the pecuniary rewards of journalism are inadequate" but concluded that "the man who enters journalism. . .adopts (it). . . as an intellectual calling" (De Weese 1898, 441, 451). Still, it is hard to get past the description given in 1900 by the I.T.U. president (Donnelly 1901, 275):

> I have known newspaper writers to almost starve to death on the streets of New York. Men of education who were in the position. . .of a vagrant, the field in which they were employed being overcrowded. . . . The editors and managers being entirely too busy to converse with them on questions of employment, their only opportunity. . .(was) offering to do the work of some other man, and displace him, at a lower rate of wages.

Another crucial factor was the virtually total lack of job security. There were two key aspects to this condition. One was a theme prominent in intellectual journals and trade magazines during the latter half of the 19th century, that daily journalism was a young man's work. "Beyond question," wrote a reporter touting journalism as a career, "the work on the newspapers is done by very young men," from 18 to 25 years of age (Howard 1891b, 5). Less charitable views of the same situation:

> The most pathetic figure in journalism is the man who has grown old in its service. . . .In any other business, his experience would be of value. . . .Here it is valueless.
>
> Ninety percent of the men who enter journalism leave it before they become old. . . .On the staff of the daily newspaper with which I am connected there is only one man over fifty years of age, and the average age of the employees in the editorial department is less than thirty-five. A canvass of other metropolitan newspaper-offices will show but a slight variation from these figures. (Keller 1893, 693).

> Journalism is the only profession which has no rewards to offer old age, however vigorous. . . .except he be a proprietor, you will have a long distance to travel before you will find a man of sixty in active newspaper life. (Forman, 1900, 108)

> The fact is that men over the middle age are not wanted in the local room and have a hard time holding down a desk on the staff of any New York paper. . . .(Mahony 1900, 114)[5]

Part of the reason for this focus on youth was the demanding conditions of journalism work. For reporters, there were "long hours, arduous working conditions, lack of sick leave and vacation time" (Smythe 1980, 5). It simply was more difficult for older people to keep up the physical pace that reporting work then required. The telephone was not so widely used, and newsrooms did not have highly specialized "beats" which would enable an older reporter to do good work without having to rush all over the area. Furthermore, the grueling pace and the lack of job security applied to virtually all of the editors, as well. Perhaps one of the saddest testimonies to this harsh reality was the story of Dr. John B. Wood, the forerunner of the copy editor: Let go because of his age and thus forced to start again as a reporter, he was "sent out on a river-front assignment in the cold and wet and darkness of a winter storm. That night he met his death amid the floating ice of the Hudson" (Keller 1893, 694, 695).

The other key aspect of job insecurity was the ease with which newsroom managers fired or reassigned people on the spot: Journalists often could not count on a job from one day to the next, much less a regular paycheck until they retired. Writing about reporters' work conditions in smaller cities, a newsroom worker wrote that "sudden and sweeping changes are liable to occur in the local force" (O'Shaughnessy 1892, 13). *The Fourth Estate*, a trade publication, wrote in 1898 that

> The chief fault with journalism in the large cities is the insecurity felt by the workers in their positions. . . Reporters are discharged upon the slightest pretexts. Desk men who have a reasonable right to believe their positions secure as long as they do conscientious work suddenly find themselves thrown out in the street without warning. (quoted in Smythe 1980, 5)

A similar theme is voiced by a newsroom worker:

> A change in management or the whim of a proprietor may annul a position won by a lifetime of earnest endeavor and devotion to duty.
>
> Not a year passes without one or more "shakeups," as newspaper-men call them, in the offices of our large dailies. (Keller 1893, 694, 695)

The lack of job security was an effective means of exercising managerial control: Newsroom workers could be directed, evaluated and disciplined at a boss's will. They had little autonomy in their work. Moreover some publishers, such as James Gordon Bennett Jr. and Joseph Pulitzer, spied on their newsroom workers (Smythe 1980, 5). "The whole tendency of the policy of the most successful journals. . is to foster this spirit of distrust. . .not only between its own staff and the staffs of its rivals, but actually between the members of its own staffs" (Cockerill 1890, 13).

Taken as a whole, these conditions describe a grim reality. Part of "publishers' strategies to keep operating expenses low," they "drove seasoned reporters out of the newspaper industry" (Baldasty 1993, 101). This would appear to have been a strange system, for a social organization protected by the Constitution as a vital part of democracy. But it made perfect sense as a method of controlling newsroom workers while maximizing profits, all under the guise of public service. Given the prohibitive cost of starting or buying a daily newspaper, nearly all journalists faced the choices of quitting, of accepting the conditions of newsroom work, or of organizing.

The Identity of Newsroom Work

Labor was an increasingly prominent issue for newspaper managers in the late 19th century. The development of newspapers was driving technological changes in various aspects of the printing process, including presses (Moran 1973) and typesetting. Printing crafts workers had long since unionized, and they were alert and active to potential threats to skills, pay, work conditions and job security (Mendel 1991, 359-362). On occasion they were, in the 1887 views of one publisher, able to place newspapers "in peculiarly unpleasant situations" (quoted in Emery 1950, 24). The A.N.P.A. responded in 1899 by forming a labor relations committee (Ibid., 65) and starting a "systematic labor relations program" (Lee 1937, 670). Overall, though, the I.T.U. was both active and successful in protecting its members' jobs and improving their pay. In the late 19th century in New York City, "the comparative absence of strikes in the printing trades was a measure of the strength of the unions representing compositors and pressmen" (Mendel 1991, 371). Compared with typesetters' wages, those of newsroom workers were "very much lower" (Donnelly 1901, 275), the I.T.U. president told Congress.

In 1891 the I.T.U. amended its constitution to authorize "the issuance of charters to unions of editors and reporters" (Tracy 1913, 452). In 1893 it "dispensed with the four-year apprenticeship rule in the case of newswriters" (Lee 1937, 670). Leab (1970, 12, 13) suggests three motives in all this. First, the I.T.U. was concerned that "its strikes often were hindered" (Leab 1970, 12) by newsroom workers: "There was a strike in the composing room of the Chattanooga *Times* last week. The editors, reporters, and a few friends went to the cases at night, and the paper was issued as usual" (*The Journalist* 1890, 13). Second, the I.T.U. hoped to "improve its image in the press;" third, some of the union's leaders saw newsroom workers as simply "one more specialty to organize." From 1891 until the start of World War I, the I.T.U. issued 44 local charters of newsroom workers (U.S.N.L.R.B. 1938, 108), although the bulk of this activity had occurred by 1904 (Lee 1937, 670). In 1892 an I.T.U. official said that "there were now big unions of reporters and editors under the I.T.U. in Pittsburgh, Denver and Sacramento" (*The Journalist* 1892a, 8). *The Journalist* reported in 1892 that "representative working newspaper reporters and copy editors" in New York met, listened to speeches from union officials and "unanimously decided to organize a local union. . .under the I.T.U." Several journalists described "details of some of the injustices under which they suffer and the abuses to which they are subject" (Ibid.). Again in 1892, protesting the policies of a new city editor, the reporters of the New York *Recorder* struck -- "a decided novelty. . .among reporters in New York" (*The Journalist* 1892c).

Overall, most of the I.T.U.'s "newswriters' locals" did not last for more than a few years, and often they had small memberships (U.S.N.L.R.B. 1938; Lee 1937, 666-673). The reasons for this are complex, involving politics and ideology. Politically, there was an element of intimidation: A journalist wrote that "legal insistence on his rights. . .will not only cost him his place on the newspaper immediately concerned but will prove a serious obstacle to employment on any other newspaper" (Keller 1893, 699). Combined with the fact that the field was "overcrowded" (Donnelly 1901, 275), organizing likely appeared as highly problematic. But over and above these problems was what may be termed the ideology of newsroom work. First, the public service ethic militated against any idea of going on strike. Second, like many college and university professors today, newsroom workers saw their work as being sufficiently intellectual and individualistic as to preclude any collective identity and behavior. In the words of a 1900 report by the I.T.U. vice president for the newswriters' locals, "In nearly every instance the general principles of organization as applied to our calling are agreed to, but the principal objection to joining with us. . .seems to be that it is not a practical proposition" (quoted in

Tracy 1913, 630). Journalists, a newsroom worker wrote, "hold themselves on a plane high above that where the self-preservation of labor has made trades-unions imperative" (Keller 1893, 700). Many "considered it beneath the dignity of a newspaperman to join a labor union" (quoted in Leab 1970, 15). Third, there was a popular notion of "the romance of newspapering," rooted in "myths that the newspaper business was a game. . .and that wages, hours and conditions did not count. What really mattered was high adventure and being 'on the inside'" (Leab 1970, 8, 9). This view was actively promoted by newspaper publishers, as was a fourth and related outlook, namely, that newsroom workers should seek individual solutions to their oppression, through upward mobility:

> They, like most "white collar" workers, intended to find financial relief through individual advancement, through taking a place among the executives, the employers, in the newspaper industry or elsewhere. Reporting was merely a means to an end; typesetting and press operation was, for many, an end in itself. (Lee 1937, 667)

Ironically, in terms of pay, working conditions and job security, newsroom work appears to have been more blue collar than was typographical work. Its white-collar identity, then, may be explained largely in terms of the fact that it did not involve manual labor and dirtying one's hands. The determinants of newsroom work's ideology and social status were rooted in a longstanding distinction between editor and printer. With the separation of these two tasks earlier in the century, the position of editor -- and that of all newsroom work -- came to carry a more intellectual aura than did typographical work. This was the heart of newsroom work's identity. But newspapers' development brought such a growth in newsroom staffs that most newsroom work positions became in many respects blue-collar in nature. In effect, the work retained its intellectual nature as the main determinant of its identity, even as its material circumstances deteriorated.

These shifts were fairly gradual. The growing division of newsroom labor took place amid an increasing differentiation in the socioeconomic backgrounds of newspaper workers. A college graduate was "a rather rare bird in American journalism" (Baehr 1936, 83) when Whitelaw Reid joined the New York *Tribune* in 1869. But by 1900 *The Journalist* would declare, perhaps with some exaggeration, that "today the college bred men are the rule" (quoted in Schudson 1978, 68). To a Congressman's query on this trend, at a 1900 hearing, the I.T.U. president replied:

> for the past few years there have come into the newspaper profession many college graduates and sons of rich men, who take their places directly in the editorial room, on account of political influence or ownership of stock. This has a tendency to change the old democratic traditions as they existed in the newspaper trade or profession 25, 30, or 40 years ago (Donnelly 1901, 276).

This quote hearkened back to an era marked by less sharp distinctions among newspaper workers, when most lacked a college degree or a solidly middle-class background. Most who ended up in the newsroom had had some typesetting experience and were unlikely to cross printers' picket lines. The loss of "old democratic traditions," then, may be seen in part as a crucial shift in the identity of newsroom work: Increasingly it belonged to "college graduates and sons of rich men." For these people, such work could reasonably combine a notion of a sacred public trust with that of an exciting but insecure and poorly paid job -- precisely because it was only temporary work. These were indeed difficult conditions for organizing.

Conclusion

Journalists long have tended to be motivated primarily by a sense of public service (Johnstone et al 1976, 229; Weaver and Wilhoit 1991, 93, 94). Yet the reality of newsroom work for the commercial press has virtually always belied its noble ideology, as voiced by its publishers. In 1937, long after the conditions described in this essay, a copy editor for the Chicago *Tribune* testified before the National Labor Relations Board:

> Nobody said lousier things about Roosevelt than I did in certain headlines. If the *Tribune* had ordered me to say that Roosevelt was illegitimate, I would have done so. To refuse would have been impossible. To hold a job I had to obey my boss's wishes. (quoted in Dreier 1978, 75).

A similar description of publishers appeared early in the 19th century, made by an Englishman who visited the United States in 1833:

> The conductors of American journals are generally shrewd but uneducated men, extravagant in praise or censure. . .and exceedingly indifferent to all matters which have no discernible relation to their own pockets or privileges. (quoted in Sanborn 1874, 61)

Thus, from well before newsroom workers' poor wages were decried by *The Nation* in the 1870s, to today's buyouts of newsroom workers (Chang 1993), the U.S. commercial press has shown a steadfast focus on the pursuit of ever larger profits. After the turn of the century, newsroom workers did begin to move more forcefully toward collective behavior. In 1919 *The New Republic* editorialized, "From Copy Readers to Leg Men to Chief Editorial Writers, they have organized in Boston."[6] In 1933 newsroom workers formed the American Newspaper Guild (Leab 1970). But their lot has never been an easy one: To the present day, longstanding obstacles continue to hinder newsroom workers' attempts to organize or to retain their union affiliation. Further, new technologies and media mergers improve newspaper corporations' leverage over newsroom workers: Today, the pay of newsroom workers gives them less "relative buying power" than they had "in the late 1960s" (Weaver and Wilhoit 1992, 8). Compared with 10 years ago, a current study of newsroom workers found a sharp drop in morale and a sharp rise in turnover rates

(Ibid.). As corporate capitalism becomes increasingly global, newsroom workers again face worsening work conditions. So, like their counterparts of more than 100 years ago, they increasingly are coming to view their work as combining a sacred public trust with a temporary job. The consequences for the public sphere -- in a country which identifies itself as having a well-informed citizenry that is becoming even moreso, by moving onto an information highway -- are unpleasant.

Notes

[1] The decline in the number of U.S. daily newspapers began well before the advent of commercial broadcasting in the mid-1920s (McChesney 1993), which, along with direct mail, today constitutes the main competition for advertising revenues, for newspapers and magazines (Glaberson 1994, D-6).

[2] Parton (1866, 417) contends that "the practice of paying by the column," while "a relic of the past," is "still in vogue in the offices of daily papers."

[3] A comprehensive survey of U.S. newspapers reported that editorial work "is divided between editorial writing, exchange reading, the condensation and preparation of news, the editing of telegraphic news and correspondence, etc." (North 1884, 83).

[4] Copy editors' anonymity and increasing numbers is suggested in a staff memo from Joseph Pulitzer (1897) : "One really good one is worth three ordinary ones; we should pick out the best copy readers in the town and pay them the highest salaries."

[5] Complaints of age discrimination are by no means a historical relic. A recent essay on age discrimination: "'It doesn't matter what company or what industry you work in these days,' says a spokesman from a Wall Street securities firm. . . . 'If you're over 40, you're old.'"(Webb 1993, 67).

[6] "1919 was *the* great year of industrial unrest over wages, hours, and recognition of unions and shop committees" (Stark 1980, 111).

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Propaganda Without Pain:

United States' Design for World War II Hemispheric Radio

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ABSTRACT: Unlike most world powers during the years before World War II, the United States government did not establish an international shortwave radio facility. President Franklin Roosevelt feared negative public and radio industry response to a government station. His administration, instead, encouraged commercial broadcasters to expand their operations to Latin America, a region considered particularly susceptible to Axis propaganda. After the United States entered in the war, the government leased all privately operated shortwave transmitters and took over the chore of shortwave broadcasting.

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Propaganda Without Pain:
United States' Design for World War II Hemispheric Radio

The typical shortwave radio listener in Latin America during the 1930s could tune to scores of foreign government stations. Holland, Belgium, France, and Great Britain had constructed shortwave stations to link their colonial possessions. The Soviet Union's powerful transmitters called upon listeners to join its revolution. Germany and Italy carried their Fascist messages. Even Egypt, Ethiopia, Turkey, and the Vatican had shortwave stations.[1] Indeed, virtually every major power proselytized over radio--with the exception of the United States.

U.S. government stance toward international broadcasting evolved from disinterest during the first half of the 1930s to active regulatory oversight by decade's end. Shortly after the United States entered World War II, the government was in control of the nation's shortwave stations. This paper explores the development and implications of these changes in government policy toward international shortwave broadcasting.

During the early 1930s, with the prevailing mood of "isolationism," policy makers and the public saw no reason for the United States to join the worldwide "radio war" and meddle in a European feud. U.S. companies, which pioneered shortwave radio during the 1920s, had largely abandoned the technology in the next decade, convinced that it did not have a commercial future.[2] They carried primarily low-power English-language simulcasts to retain their shortwave licenses.[3] A 1942 review of international political broadcasting by researchers at the Princeton Listening

Center, which monitored international broadcasts, briefly mentioned U.S. efforts as a postscript: "In the history of radio in international politics up to the outbreak of the present war the United States deserves very little attention."[4]

As the European political situation deteriorated and the likelihood of war increased during the late 1930s, concern mounted in Congress regarding what was perceived as a sophisticated Axis propaganda system in Latin America.[5] Those who supported government involvement to counter Axis propaganda in the region charged that decades of U.S. imperialist intervention in Latin America had fostered anti-U.S. feelings. They also feared that many Latin Americans, particularly those in South America's southern cone, harbored pro-Fascist sympathies.[6] While there were 2.5 million radio receivers in Latin America, listenership was probably higher because of group listening.[7] On the other side of the debate, isolationist sentiment still carried appeal and the powerful broadcasters' lobby railed against governmental attempts to interfere in the industry.

The debate over international broadcasting was unwelcome by President Franklin Roosevelt. Since elected president in 1932, he surrounded himself with advisers, many with newspaper backgrounds, who imparted on him the importance of securing favorable public opinion and press relations for his policies. As a result, the administration tried to sidestep politically sensitive matters pertaining to international broadcasting. Historian Richard W. Steele contended that the "president's strategy in dealing with radio and its problems was to express sympathy and understanding to all concerned but to stand aloof. The political risks of deeper involvement were too great; the potential benefits negligible."[8]

The Legacy of Fear

To understand the administration's radio policy, it is important to appreciate the social and political milieu regarding "propaganda" in the United States during the mid and late 1930s that has been dubbed the "legacy of fear."[9] Without clearly defining propaganda, prominent communication scholars, such as Harold Lasswell, Lyman Bryson, and Robert K. Speer, claimed that governments were effectively using propaganda to mislead the masses. Concern about propaganda led to the establishment of the Institute for Propaganda Analysis in 1937, with Princeton University professor Hadley Cantril as president. The Institute published books, reports, and a newsletter to identify and expose propaganda techniques.[10]

Later that year, during a meeting of the Middle States Association of History and Social Science Teachers, Speer urged the adoption of "units of instruction on propaganda analysis" in every high school and university. During the same session, Bryson described shortwave radio as "a very dangerous and tricky instrument" being used by every country except the United States. Significantly, Bryson added that the antidote to hostile foreign propaganda was not government radio stations, but commercial stations that emphasized the "truth about our country."[11]

While President Roosevelt wanted to counter Axis broadcasts to Latin America, he was hesitant to accept the advice of his military advisers to construct a government shortwave radio station.[12] For years, U.S. broadcasters had cultivated the "corporate line" that only commercial broadcasters, unrestrained by government intervention, were "the purveyors of the unqualified truth, a sort of holy grail if you will of good judgment and sound vision."[13]

Roosevelt was reluctant to challenge the broadcasters. As McChesney convincingly argued, during debate over the landmark Communications Act of 1934, Roosevelt had acquiesced to the broadcast lobby on most points. The legislation was "a smashing triumph for commercial broadcasters."[14] Although many New Dealers, including some in the administration, supported stiffer broadcasting regulation, Roosevelt "ignored the opposition movement and cooperated in toto with the legislative agenda of commercial broadcasters."[15]

With his commitment to government non-involvement in broadcasting, Roosevelt's dilemma was how the United States could counter enemy propaganda without resorting to means that would be construed as propaganda. To this end, Roosevelt did not favor either an active or laissez faire government role in international broadcasting. His failure to take a clear position gave both sides in the debate the leeway to argue that the president supported their views. According to Steele, the politically astute Roosevelt knew that government control of mass media would be seen as tantamount to propaganda by most Americans:

> Roosevelt was especially anxious to avoid Woodrow Wilson's mistakes, and he was mindful of the example of George Creel's Committee on Public Information, which had been severely criticized during and since World War I. Creel's agency had succeeded too well, its critics felt, in arousing chauvinism, intolerance, and hysteria along with the militant spirit it sought. Propaganda, especially the variety dependent on sensationalism and distortion of facts, was therefore dangerously vulnerable to political criticism. . . . As a result it could be expected that blatant propaganda would be of doubtful value in influencing an American public now sophisticated in this regard by the Great Crusade.[16]

The belief that only authoritarian governments controlled or operated radio stations was ingrained in U.S. public opinion. Even the public policy publication Foreign Affairs, with a sophisticated readership, had to explain to its readers that European democracies applied degrees of government control over broadcasting. The difference being, it noted, was that in democracies "the spirit behind government control" was "easy-going liberalism" while in totalitarian countries it was to espouse "aggressive nationalism and partisan tyranny."[17]

By 1937, there was discussion in Congress of establishing a government station to counter Axis propaganda. Legislation for a station was proposed as early as February.[18] Such talk was met with fierce opposition from broadcasters. Proponents of a government station portrayed broadcasters' opposition as selfish and unpatriotic. Federal Communications Commissioner George H. Payne publicly claimed that "certain unscrupulous and misguided captains of industry were attempting to block the entire project . . . merely because at some later date it might be looked upon as the entering wedge for the government operation of all broadcasting."[19]

Legislative Efforts

Congressional debate over government radio reached its zenith during May 1938, with parallel House and Senate subcommittee hearings on establishing government stations. Senate Bill 3342, jointly sponsored by Dennis Chavez (D-New Mexico) and William G. McAdoo (D-California), proposed a $3 million facility in the San Diego area to be operated by the Department of State.[20] House Bill 4281, sponsored by Rep. Emanuel Celler (D-New York), proposed the construction of a shortwave facility near Washington, D.C., to be operated by the Department of the Navy with programming produced by the Department of Education.[21]

Celler, who was receiving advice from Payne throughout the hearings, gained attention by confronting the broadcasters' lobby, the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB).[22] In his opening statement on May 16 Celler warned that "[c]ertain persons and entities must now cease their opposition, else they will get their fingers burned."[23]

Senate subcommittee hearings, which started a few days before House hearings, were hampered from the outset by partisan political bickering regarding where the facility should be located. Chavez and McAdoo would politically benefit from a facility in their Southwestern region. Members from Florida and Texas proposed bills for stations in their states that never made it out of committee.[24] Sen. Homer T. Bone (D-Washington), an avowed isolationist who chaired the hearings on the Chavez-McAdoo legislation, queried the FCC's chief engineer during testimony about the possibility of constructing transmitters on the east and west coasts and alternating transmissions to make the bill more politically palatable.[25] Bone did not hide his opposition to the bill: "I do not think we ought to meddle too much with these international relationships. . . . God was good to this nation and put two great oceans between us and the people who might cause us trouble."[26]

Testimony from the FCC's chief engineer, claiming to appear in a "neutral capacity," suggested that perhaps San Diego was not the appropriate site. He presented the senators a chart with the airline distances from 23 capitals in the Americas (22 Latin American republics and Canada) to San Diego and Washington, D.C. In 22 of the 23 cases (except Mexico City), Washington was closer to these capitals than San Diego.[27]

During his opening statement, Chavez tried to justify the San Diego location because of its appeal to Latin Americans. "San Diego was selected for one reason," Chavez stated, "because when one says 'San Diego' to a South American, a Central American, or a Mexican, he knows immediately what is meant." When questioned by Bone whether there were any other reasons for the San Diego site, Chavez added that the city was home to a major naval base but insisted that "[t]he first reason was its Spanish name. . . ."[28]

Another factor that doomed both the House and Senate bills was the broadcast industry's concerted effort to characterize them as undemocratic. In Senate testimony, NAB president Mark Ethridge pointed out that information over a U.S. government station would be interpreted by Latin American listeners as official government positions, marking it with the same lack of credibility as the Axis stations:

> Any proposal to put the United States government in control of media for the dissemination of news or information is utterly at variance with democratic principles. . . . It suggests the Nazi philosophy which seeks to fuse the people with a common thought, with common aims, and ultimately obtains complete submission to the thinking of a small group.[29]

A Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) spokesperson at the Senate hearings praised CBS and other U.S. broadcasters who "operated on a patriotic basis," adding that at the close of each program day CBS played "The Star-Spangled Banner." The spokesperson also lauded broadcasters for carrying programming unlike propaganda and instead presented an "inviting tapestry of America today--a country which, whatever its problems, still has room for Shirley Temple, Charlie McCarthy, and Snow White in the hearts of young and old, rather than gas masks on the heads of young and old."[30]

The administration's noncommittal position regarding a government station posed a serious challenge to the sponsors of both bills. Celler, recognizing the significance of Roosevelt's support for his legislation, declared "that such project [H.R. 4281] has already had heretofore the approval of President Roosevelt, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, and Secretary of the Navy [Claude A.] Swanson."[31] Celler drew this conclusion by his strained interpretation of the United States' signatory agreement to a 1933 international treaty [the Montevideo Conference], permitting 21 governments in the Americas authority to use assigned shortwave bands for the promotion of inter-American unity.[32]

In addition to misinterpreting administration support, Celler also misjudged support from the Navy and other military officials. In a noncommittal letter entered into the House record, William D. Leahy, the acting chairman of the Committee on Naval Affairs, noted that the cost of launching the facility would have to increase from the proposed $750,000 to $1.2 million, and annual operating costs from $100,000 to $160,000.

Leahy's "endorsement" near the end of the communication stated: "The Navy Department interposes no objections to its enactment provided the appropriations authorized be revised in accordance with estimates of costs contained herein."[33] A lukewarm letter from Louis Johnson, Acting Secretary of War, stated: "It is believed that the construction and maintenance of a government radio broadcasting station in accordance with this bill would have no peacetime military value to the War Department, although it might have some military value during war or national emergency."[34]

H.R. 4281 made clear that the station would have a pro-government position. It would carry addresses by the president, members of the cabinet, congressional leaders, and heads of commissions, departments, and bureaus. It would also broadcast national events, such as the opening of Congress and graduation ceremonies from the Naval Academy at Annapolis and the Military Academy at West Point.[35] During testimony, Celler derisively reviewed the daily program schedule of one U.S. broadcaster in Latin America (General Electric) to demonstrate why a pro-government station was needed:

> There was nothing in Spanish or Portuguese, as I said; but here is what there was: First, the William Meeder Ensemble. Then there were the Kidoodlers--whatever they are, I do not know, but I am sure that they would not be understood in Paraguay or Uruguay. Then there was the Animal News Club, then Turn Back the Clock, then the following. Tom Terris,

> Melody Moments, Radio Pulpit, the Madrigal Singers, Press Radio News, Silver Flute, Angler and Hunter, and Norsemen Quartet. Of what value these broadcasts were in Peru or Brazil are beyond me.[36]

Roosevelt had recently established an Interdepartmental Committee to make recommendations to him on international broadcasting. The committee--comprised of representatives from the Export-Import Bank, the FCC and the departments of State, Interior, Commerce, and Agriculture--was headed by FCC Chairman Frank R. McNinch. The committee was valuable to Roosevelt because, while it was deliberating, he could refrain from taking a position on the politically sensitive House and Senate bills by claiming he was awaiting the committee's report.[37] No administration officials testified at the House and Senate hearings, pointing to the impending committee report.[38] Backers of the House and Senate bills hoped that the committee's report would favor a government station. "I am inclined to believe," Celler announced on the floor, "that the Interdepartmental report that may be forthcoming very shortly will favor legislation of this character."[39]

But the Interdepartmental Committee was not making progress. While congressional hearings were still being held, McNinch announced that the committee had not reached agreement and, on the advice of the president, it would "explore other aspects of international broadcasting."[40] Frustrated, backers of the House and Senate bills announced plans to shelve the bills.[41]

Carleton Beals, a leading journalist and expert on Latin American affairs, supported a U.S. government broadcasting facility to Latin America.[42] He believed, however, that the domestic debate over whether a government station would be perceived as propaganda by Latin Americans obscured the real issue. Beals argued that Latin American listeners had grown accustomed to tuning to foreign stations and recognized them as representing the positions of their respective governments. Beals wanted to see the United States candidly present its political views over the airwaves and stop dodging the issue of propaganda: "Of course our dispatches, we claim, are not propaganda. . . . Our broadcasts, even if truly educational, inevitably become propaganda for a way of life, the American way of life. They seek a purpose, to create friendship, to sell goods, to bar other foreign competition."[43]

Some in the administration supported a government broadcasting facility, although they could not publicly disagree with administration policy. In early 1939, Sen. Chavez unsuccessfully re-introduced his legislation for a government station and sought the support of Interior Secretary Harold L. Ickes.[44] Although Ickes was noncommittal during the meeting, afterward he noted in his diary that he supported the station--not only for international broadcasting, but for domestic broadcasting as well. "I would like to see the government take over and set up a complete broadcasting system reaching into every part of the country as well as abroad, particularly to the Spanish-American countries."[45]

Regulatory Action and Reaction

With the bills for a government station shelved, administration policy shifted to encouraging broadcasters to increase their programming to Latin America. This was seen as far more politically acceptable than direct government involvement in broadcasting. To broadcasters, the chief regulatory barrier was the FCC prohibition on shortwave advertising directed specifically to foreign listeners. Several government agencies, including the Commerce and State departments, urged the FCC to repeal the rule.[46] On May 23, 1939, the FCC issued new shortwave regulations that, among other things, removed the restriction on advertising.[47] The new regulations also required shortwave broadcasters to install directional antennas and operate at a minimum of 50,000 watts by July 1, 1940.[48] "The change in rules caught broadcasters off guard," wrote one leading broadcasting scholar. "There is no evidence that they requested such a change, nor were any of them prepared for the new regulations."[49]

By the summer of 1939, General Electric inaugurated the first 100,000-watt transmitter in the United States. Known as a "Big Bertha," its directional antennas aimed Portuguese-language broadcasts to Brazil and Spanish-language broadcasts elsewhere in the region. GE had plans for the transmitter before the rule changes, but it claimed that the favorable regulatory environment accelerated up its plans.[50] In the FCC's 1940 annual report, the agency claimed its regulations were responsible for advances in international broadcasting, noting that "[e]ven now, reports from foreign countries, South America in particular, indicate a vast improvement in reception of United States broadcast stations."[51]

Despite the significane of the advertising rule, it was largely eclipsed by another rule change in the new regulation that caused alarm in the broadcast industry. A section was added requiring a licensee to carry programming that "will reflect the culture of this country and which will promote international good will and understanding. Any program solely intended for, and directed to an audience in the continental United States does not meet the requirements for this service."[52]

This rule was meant to encourage broadcasters to produce original programs for Latin America. But irate broadcasters interpreted it as government intrusion with the potential for censorship. FCC members declared they were stunned by broadcasters' stinging response to the "culture rule" and the charges of censorship. One attorney reviewing the rules for the FCC shortly after it was disseminated, however, knew that it would incite broadcasters: "I should be interested to see the protest which is ultimately prepared for transmission to the FCC."[53]

The expected response was not long in coming. Neville Miller, who succeeded Ethridge as NAB president in June 1938, denounced the rule in a letter to FCC Chairman McNinch. The letter was copied and mailed to newspapers, businesses, and sympathetic organizations as part of an NAB campaign to overturn the rule.[54]

American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) Director Roger N. Baldwin, at the request of the NAB, informally gauged FCC sentiment regarding the culture rule. He found that even commissioners had reservations about the rule. A letter to Baldwin from an attorney who served as an intermediary with FCC commissioners reported that one commissioner stated that the culture rule was urged "by other government departments interested in foreign trade" and "an informal letter request for reconsideration is not out of place." The attorney added "that a good deal of opposition to the rule has developed, that the commission never intended the rule to have quite the effect that it does, and that there is a good chance of obtaining reconsideration."[55]

After several contacts with FCC officials and inquiries with attorneys, the ACLU petitioned the FCC to hold hearings on the culture rule.[56] The FCC announced that it would hold hearings starting July 12 (later changed to July 14, 15, and 17), even though it was not required to do so by law, because the "application of the rule has been misunderstood in some quarters."[57]

The culture rule engendered a good deal of debate in several sectors. It was publicly championed by the Rev. Edward Lodge Curran, president of the International Catholic Truth Society.[58]

By and large, however, most publicly expressed opinions were opposed to the rule. The NAB received the support of the ACLU, businesses opposed to government interference in the private sector, and especially newspapers that portrayed the rule as a freedom-of-the-press issue.[59] The New York Times editorialized that although the rule applied to international broadcasts "censorship of all kinds has an inevitable tendency to spread."[60] Hugh S. Johnson, of The New York World Telegram, described the rule as "one of the most cynical, impudent, and dangerous attempts to seize unconstitutional power that we have seen."[61]

In the House of Representatives, even Rep. Celler, usually at loggerheads with broadcasters over shortwave policy, wrote to McNinch: "What is 'international good will' to one may be international ill will to another. . . . I do hope, therefore, that earnest reconsideration will be given to the regulation in question."[62] Also from the House, Rep. John J. Cochran (D-Missouri) introduced legislation on the eve of the FCC hearings nullifying the culture rule, adding: "No rule or regulation hereafter issued by the commission shall have the effect of limiting broadcasts to service which will reflect the culture of the United States or promote international good will, understanding, or cooperation."[63]

Thad H. Brown, acting chairman in place of the ill McNinch, stated at the hearings' outset that the commission "has no desire, purpose, or intention of setting itself up as a board of censorship . . . ."[64] The commission also appeared piqued by the moralistic testimony of the Curran in favor of the rule. Testifying during the first day of hearings, Curran denounced the ACLU-NAB alliance of "strange bedfellows" and declared he was "at a loss to understand how any of my fellow American citizens can object to either the content or the wording of this section."[65] Without success, the commission's chief counsel twice interrupted Curran's prepared testimony, arguing that the hearings were degenerating into "a forum for Father Curran to express his views and convictions" about the ACLU and NAB.[66]

Other more sober defenders of the rule, testifying on the last day of hearings, included representatives from the non-profit, Boston-based World Wide Broadcasting Corp. and an English professor from Harvard. A.B. Landa, of World Wide, told the commission: "I am not speaking for censorship. But there are certain guideposts and limitations. This is one of them."[67]

Not until the end of the last day of hearings, however, was the long-awaited testimony from NAB counsel Swagar Sherley delivered. Before Shirley's testimony, Commissioner Brown noted that the FCC was wrestling with problems posed by international broadcasting. A fundamental problem concerned whether the agency was within its congressional charge to regulate international broadcasting for "the public interest, convenience, or necessity." Brown's opening remarks indicated that he thought Shirley might argue that there was no U.S. public interest at stake. Brown conceded that Congress meant for the FCC to regulate broadcasting to serve the public interest of U.S. listeners, not overseas audiences. He claimed, however, that in broadcasting to foreign audiences there was a U.S. public interest:

> [I]t was necessary to determine how and to what extent a program service to foreign countries from American broadcast stations would be of benefit to this country. The commission reached the conclusion that there would be a public benefit to this country if American stations could be licensed to provide a program service to foreign countries if the effect of the operation of such stations would be to engender international good-will, understanding, and cooperation through program service generally reflecting the culture of our people.[68]

But Sherley, a liberal Washington attorney who advised presidents Woodrow Wilson and Franklin Roosevelt, did not question whether the FCC was within its legal prerogative in issuing the rule. Shirley argued that the FCC's authority to regulate international broadcasting "applied equally to the power and duty of the commission as to domestic broadcasts."[69]

Shirley's testimony was aimed at the court of public opinion as well as the FCC. Putting forward an argument firmly grounded in First Amendment theory, he delivered an impassioned plea based upon "fundamental considerations that must precede any purely legalistic discussion of the issue that is presented."[70] He argued that the "philosophy of government" expounded in the Bill of Rights placed importance on an independent and critical press.[71] He warned against "the guiding hand of governmental guardianship no matter how benevolently applied."[72] Shirley also raised the specter that future administrations and commissions, less benevolent than the present ones, might use the rule to impose censorship:

> I know that good motives are always ascribed for the reason of the benevolent exercise of power. I think that I am historically accurate when I say that Mr. Hitler, when he first put a censorship upon radio did so with a benevolent requirement that in broadcasting to Poland the German stations should broadcast only things to promote international good feeling, and that Poland entered into a similar agreement with Germany. I don't need to recite what the evolution of that benevolent beginning of censorship of radio has been.[73]

After it was apparent that the NAB had mobilized public and press support to its position, the FCC temporarily suspended the culture rule, pending further investigation.[74] The rule was suspended indefinitely in October.[75] The industry fared well during the FCC's 1939 regulatory revisions that culminated with the suspension of the culture rule. The rule changes demonstrated the government's desire for broadcasters to take the lead in international broadcasting. When war broke out in Europe in September 1939, the government expected payback for its concessions. It pressed the networks to increase their programming for Latin American listeners, something the networks were already predisposed to do anyway.

Although the hearings regarding the FCC's culture rule caused a furor, even if the rule were not suspended it is doubtful whether it would have had any consequences. The rule change permitting advertising over shortwave, however, had a far more significant impact. It was a catalyst for the expansion of international broadcasting. For years the broadcasting industry had pleaded for the right to carry advertising over shortwave directed to Latin American listeners. As recently as the Chavez-McAdoo Senate hearings, NAB President Ethridge called for the FCC to institute "regulatory policy" that would encourage broadcasters to extend their programming to Latin America. He specifically cited permitting the commercial use of the shortwaves as a means of enticing broadcasters to extend their programming to Latin America:

> We do not have enough information concerning the listening habits, the program tastes, the exact number of receiving units, the coverage areas, and other data essential to determine whether an advertiser would be warranted in purchasing time for advertising his product in foreign countries. . . . Yet given the opportunity under a proper regulatory policy, it would seem inevitable that the initiative and ingenuity of the broadcasting industry will develop techniques which will result in mutual benefit to both industry and the government.[76]

Ethridge's remarks were telling for the candid admission that the industry was not yet ready to go into full-scale international broadcasting, even if offered proper inducements. Indeed, after the FCC's advertising rule was promulgated the trade publication Advertising Age editorialized, "As far as Advertising Age has been able to determine, there is no present demand for advertising facilities of this character."[77] Yet here was the FCC handing broadcasters precisely what they most desired. There is no reason to suspect that the FCC and government agencies lured an unprepared industry into expanding their services to Latin America by granting broadcasters a Faustian wish and permitting advertising over the shortwaves. But that was the effect. If broadcasters failed to respond to this enticement, proponents of a government facility were ready to reintroduce their legislation. Broadcasters felt pressured to expand into Latin America, moving perhaps more quickly than they would have liked.

Pan-American Networks

The National Broadcasting Company (NBC) took the lead in bringing special programming to Latin America. In December 1939, The United Fruit Company sponsored a 15-minute, seven-day-a-week Spanish-language news program over NBC called "El Mundo al Dia" ("The World to Date").[78] During February 1940, NBC's shortwave broadcast from New York of a championship boxing match, sponsored by Standard Oil of New Jersey, was picked up and relayed locally by 130 Latin American stations.[79] By mid-1940, NBC and CBS had

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begun airing news and public affairs programs to Latin American listeners in Spanish and Portuguese.[80]

On special occasions, such as the championship boxing match, broadcasters found that Latin American stations enthusiastically re-broadcast the programs with the accompanying advertisements. The domestic re-broadcasts greatly increased the potential audience because the programs could be received on radios without shortwave bands.[81] Still, little was known about the size or composition of the Latin American audience. The networks, which developed sophisticated domestic audience measurement methods, were reduced to relying on such primitive techniques as gauging letters from listeners in Latin America.[82] Nevertheless, energized by the favorable FCC decisions and determined to silence further congressional calls for a government broadcasting facility, several broadcasters implemented long-discussed plans for "pan-American" networks with "affiliate" stations in Latin America to re-transmit shortwave programs over their domestic longwave bands.[83]

In October 1940, John Royal, NBC's vice president of international relations, announced that his network had arranged with stations in 20 Latin American republics to re-broadcast its programs over "Cadena Panamerican" ("The Pan American Network").[84] Two months after NBC's announcement to start a pan-American network, CBS president William S. Paley returned from a seven-week trip to Latin America and announced the formation of a 64-station Pan-American network in 18 Latin American republics to be called "La Cadena de las Americas" ("The Network of the Americas").[85] In his memoirs, Paley recounted how he had conferred with President Roosevelt before his trip and was encouraged "to do something to counteract that Nazi influence."[86] Paley recognized the value of portraying CBS's pan-American activities in righteous terms, and he professed patriotic motives when speaking to the press:

> I have long been convinced that there are many ways in which the ties uniting the American republics can be strengthened through the medium of broadcasting. Our peoples should know much more of each other's cultures. News and interpretive programs both can be made more effective to this end. The peoples of North and South America should be made better acquainted with each other--and radio intends to do its share.[87]

Paley realized that NBC's early start in pan-American broadcasting gave it an advantage over CBS. He hired Edmund Chester from the Associated Press's Latin American division as director of shortwave broadcasts to help CBS establish a foothold in the region. Chester had close relationships with many broadcasters and "caudillo" (strongman) leaders in the region.[88]

At every opportunity, President Roosevelt encouraged broadcasters' efforts to increase their programming to Latin America. Speaking by radio during dedication ceremonies of the Crosley Broadcasting Company's WLWO shortwave transmitter in

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October 1940, Roosevelt claimed that U.S. stations could be trusted to tell the truth:

> American radio stations will play their part in the new unity that has been built so solidly between the American nations during the past eight years. They must be effective instruments for the honest exchange of the communication of ideas. They must never be used as stations in some other lands are used, to send out in the selfsame day one false story to one country and a different false story to another.[89]

In January 1941, Crosley representatives visited Latin America to recruit affiliates for its pan-American network, "Cadena Radio Inter-Americana" ("The Inter-American Radio Network"). Recognizing that it could not directly compete against the network giants of NBC and CBS, Crosley confined its activities to affiliates in the "quarter-sphere" of Mexico, Central America, Panama, Venezuela, Colombia, and the Caribbean islands.[90]

The U.S. government, which regarded shortwave news programs as a counterweight to fascist propaganda in Latin America, added an incentive for the pan-American broadcasters to increase their news programming. The Office of the Coordinator for Inter-American Affairs (OCIAA), headed by Nelson Rockefeller and charged with improving hemispheric relations, allocated $250,000 each to CBS and NBC and $200,000 to Crosley to produce "unbiased" news programs for Latin America.[91] "While Britain is our first line of defense," Rockefeller declared, "South America is a second line and should not be forgotten."[92]

By early 1942, NBC, CBS, and Crosley had pan-American networks in operation. NBC had 124, CBS had 76, and Crosley had 15.[93] NBC established affiliate relations with some of the most important stations and networks in Latin America. Mexico City's 100,000-watt XEW, the most powerful station in Latin America with plans to increase to 200,000 watts, carried NBC's programs. XEW owner Emilio Azcarraga, the most respected broadcaster in Latin America, re-broadcast NBC's programs over his 20 other Mexican stations in the Cadena Radio-Difusora network.[94] In Buenos Aires, NBC's programs were carried on 50,000-watt Radio Splendid. In Cuba, NBC programs reached the entire island over the CMQ network.[95] CBS had three 50,000-watt affiliates: Radio Belgrano in Buenos Aires, Radio Pan Americana in Mexico City, and Radio Continental in Bogota, Colombia. It also supplied programming to Cuba's Radio Havana Cuba-Cadena Azul network.[96]

But the Pan American networks were losing money, and there was little promise of future profit.[97] In their efforts to curtail further congressional consideration of a U.S.-government broadcasting system, the networks rushed into pan-American broadcasting without fully weighing the costs. It was estimated that U.S. advertisers would spend only $20 million in all Latin American media in 1942, compared to $1.7 billion in the domestic market.[98] In addition, reports consistently indicated that Latin American listeners preferred domestic programs over U.S.-produced programs, even those specially produced for the pan-American networks. Finally, there was the problem of creating programming for a generic Latin American audience when, in fact, Latin American republics contained many diverse audiences with different tastes.[99]

Although the pan-American networks were not commercially successful, the contacts between U.S. and Latin American broadcasters affected Latin American station practices. Goar Mestre, co-owner of Cuba's CMQ radio network and one of the pioneers of Latin American broadcasting, said that CMQ's affiliation with NBC allowed him virtually unlimited access to NBC's Rockefeller Center studios as a "training ground" for himself and CMQ employees.[100] Mexico's staunchly pro-U.S. Azcarraga proposed grandiose plans for joint U.S.-Mexican program productions. He also called for every nation in North, Central, and South America to have at least one station in a hemispheric "superstation" so that people in the two continents could be exposed to each other's cultures.[101]

War-Time "Takeover"

Several government agencies were preparing a defense role for radio even before the Pearl Harbor attack. Roosevelt signed an executive order on September 24, 1940, creating the Defense Communications Board (DCB), a planning and advisory agency to the president. The DCB did not have authority to censor radio or take over facilities.[102] During the early part of 1941, the FCC funded a special center at Princeton University to monitor overseas shortwave broadcasts.[103] The FCC's 1941 year-end report began by noting that "solving the many communications problems arising from the nation's defense effort is the primary concern of the Federal Communications Commission. . . . No part of the commission's work has been left unaffected by emergency requirements."[104]

With the attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, the administration shifted from implicit to explicit policies regarding international broadcasting. An alphabet soup of agencies, whose charges sometimes overlapped, became directly involved in radio regulation.[105] Less than two weeks after the attack on Pearl Harbor, Roosevelt issued an executive order establishing the Office of Censorship.[106] The office immediately established relations with its counterparts in Latin America as:

> . . . [P]art of an Allied network that blockaded Axis countries from a communications standpoint. Several Latin American countries set up effective censorships in accordance with Pan American agreements for the defense of the Western hemisphere, and the Office of Censorship sent a liaison representative to those organizations. . . . The allied censorships exchanged information about censorship techniques and also, in the interest of the mutual war effort, gave one another pertinent information intercepted in communications.[107]

In addition to regulating radio, government agencies inched toward direct involvement in shortwave broadcasting. Three weeks after Pearl Harbor, the OCIAA purchased General Electric's 100,000-watt WGEO transmitter in Schenechtady, N.Y., and relocated it to San Francisco to counter "an Axis propaganda blitz in the Far East [that] had caught the United States flatfooted."[108] In February 1942, Roosevelt approved a plan for the government to lease daytime hours over the shortwave networks to air government programs.[109]

Most U.S. broadcasters softened their opposition to government involvement in international broadcasting, especially in light of the continued financial losses of the pan American networks and direct shortwave broadcasts to the region from the United States. They often pointed to these losses to portray their efforts in Latin America as a "public service" in support of the war effort. As the 1942 edition of the industry publication The Radio Annual observed:

> All [pan-American broadcasters] must struggle along as best as they can on slim budgets until the day when their foresight, ingenuity and patience will be rewarded in a material way. In the interim, however, the Latin American broadcasters have the satisfaction of knowing they are rendering an important service to their country in paving the way for better understanding between the free peoples of North and South America.[110]

In the war-fever environment, there was a discernible shift away from the belief that commercial broadcasters could be entrusted to produce "truthful" reports for overseas listeners. Government agencies openly complained that broadcasters were editing government handouts rather than simply reading verbatim releases.[111] Similarly, a study issued by the Princeton Listening Center admonished the pan-American broadcasters for carrying largely nonpolitical programming "except for a general emphasis on 'good neighborliness' and similar policies."[112] With the seeming sea change in the political environment, broadcasters accepted the possibility of government takeover of shortwave facilities. An orderly takeover, provided fair compensation, was no longer viewed as distasteful so long as the government did not interfere with domestic radio.[113]

Roosevelt signed an executive order on March 7, 1942, permitting the DCB to "take over" privately operated shortwave broadcasting facilities and compensate the owners.[114] A DCB spokesperson emphasized that the order did not mean a "general taking over" of the nation's private shortwave transmitters.[115] This statement, however, contradicted the order's introductory clause, stating that "it is necessary in the interest of national security and defense and for the successful prosecution of the war that the government of the United States take over, use, and operate certain facilities for wire communications or parts thereof."[116]

Since the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the Office of War Information (OWI) and the OCIAA had been conferring regularly with broadcasters to lease the nation's shortwave facilities.[117] In addition to the three broadcasters that had established pan-American network relations with Latin American affiliates, other broadcasters with shortwave transmitters included Westinghouse, General Electric, and World Wide.

The OWI and the OCIAA made every effort to arrange contracts acceptable to broadcasters, even though the government had the authority by executive order to confiscate facilities.[118] The agencies were determined to portray the leases as voluntary and accomplished in a manner fitting a democratic society. The leases had the effect of a government "takeover," albeit in a more palatable manner.[119] The lease arrangements were made easy by the fact that with only two exceptions--some reluctance from CBS and firm opposition from World Wide--most broadcasters were happy to lease their unprofitable operations.[120] Under the agreements, the government retained the services of CBS and NBC to write, produce, and distribute programs under the auspices of the OCIAA.[121] The agreement stipulated for CBS, which provided greater services than NBC, to receive $520,000 annually while NBC received $370,000, with these payments coming from the budgets of the OCIAA and the OWI.[122]

The result of these lease arrangements was well-produced Portuguese and Spanish-language programs about the war and U.S. policy with titles such as "Cavalcade of the New World," "History in Action," and "Tribute to Heroes." Episodes of "Cavalcade" featured profiles, views, and activities of President Roosevelt, Secretary of State Cordell Hull, Gen. Douglas MacArthur, and others "who are making history." "You could call it propaganda," an OCIAA spokesperson conceded. "But we prefer to call it dramatizations, with completely factual backgrounds, designed to tell our Latin American neighbors in an interesting manner what we are doing in the war and what we are fighting for."[123]

Full-scale government operation of the nation's shortwaves by the OWI, headed by Colonel William ("Wild Bill") Donovan, was nearly complete by November 1942, with the government in charge of eleven of the nation's fourteen shortwave transmitters. Only one broadcaster, the idealistic Walter S. Lemmon, owner of the non-profit, listener-supported WRUL and sister international broadcasting stations WRUS and WRUW in Boston, part of the World Wide Broadcasting Foundation, challenged the lease terms.[124] Lemmon charged that the arrangement would destroy the educational character of his stations. He was particularly irked by clauses in the agreements allowing CBS and NBC to operate World Wide's facilities. The OWI issued a blunt statement charging that, despite his disclaimers, Lemmon was only interested in pressing the government for more money:

> Mr. Lemmon states that he has not yet signed the proposed government leasing contract "because no provision has yet been made to safeguard the tremendous audiences [WRUL] has already built up." . . . This statement is not accurate. Mr.

> Lemmon has not yet signed because of a disagreement over the sum which the government should pay for the facilities of WRUL.[125]

The government was in no mood to bicker with Lemmon. There was concern that Lemmon's demands might cause other broadcasters to renegotiate their contracts.[126] If there was any doubt that the government was still reluctant to "take over" shortwave stations forcibly, that was dispelled when, "quietly and without any publicity," the Board of War Communications (BWC) issued an "order of closure" of Lemmon's facilities on November 5. The announcement of the takeover was issued three days later:

> Because of the need of having all shortwave facilities available to the government before offensive action by American troops started in the European theater, the War Communications Board on Thursday of last week took possession of station WRUL, Boston, and made those facilities available to the Office of War Information. Fair compensation for use of these facilities will be determined in accordance with statutory provisions which provide for government use of such facilities.[127]

The takeover of World Wide's facilities marked the end to the facade that the government still believed that private broadcasters could be left in charge of national information policy during wartime. The seizure received little protest from the other broadcasters that had signed lease agreements and was overshadowed by the ostensible reason for the takeover--a major

Allied invasion of French North Africa that the OWI claimed required total government control of the airwaves. Donovan and other officials beamed radio "psychwar" broadcasts from the battleship USS Texas in the Mediterranean to convince North Africans to assist the Allied invasion.[128]

Conclusion

Before U.S. entry into World War II, the Roosevelt administration did not developed a clear shortwave policy; nor could it. The notion of a government policy with regard to mass media during the early and mid-1930s smacked of "propaganda." While the administration believed that shortwave radio could play a role in national defense by promoting U.S. interests in the neutral republics of Latin America, the administration had at least to appear to maintain a hands-off approach to radio for domestic political reasons. To this end, the administration took ambiguous public stands regarding proposed legislation on U.S. government broadcasting stations to Latin America.

During the late 1930s, with prodding from several government agencies, the FCC exercised its regulatory power to encourage commercial broadcasters to increase their programming to Latin America. Left to their own, broadcasters still might have expanded their Latin American broadcasts. The favorable regulatory environment, however, was a stimulus to accelerated development of broadcasting to the region.

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The administration's pre-war strategy of encouraging private broadcasters to produce programming for Latin American listeners represented an attempt by a democratic government to have propaganda without pain of self-serving government messages. The administration correctly recognized that broadcasters--out of a combination of patriotism and ethnocentrism--would champion the U.S. view abroad. Indeed, any requirement that broadcasters tote the government line would have been received with outrage from broadcasters and the public--as was the case in the debate over the "culture rule."

After the United States entered the war, the strategy of encouraging private broadcasters to produce programming for Latin America no longer seemed tenable. The government now required "official" broadcasts coordinated for the war effort, not general promotion of the "American way." Through lease arrangements, the government arranged a largely amicable de facto takeover of all shortwave facilities. In one case, however, the government confiscated the facilities of an obstinate broadcaster that refused the lease arrangements. With the wartime atmosphere, the confiscation was greeted with surprisingly little protest from broadcasters, Congress, or the public.

Notes

1. Donald R. Browne, International Radio Broadcasting: The Limits of a Limitless Medium (New York: Praeger, 1982); Harold Graves, Jr., War on the Short Wave (New York: Foreign Policy Association, 1941), 11-14; Charles J. Rolo, Radio Goes to War: The "Fourth Front" (New York: G.P. Putnam Sons, 1942); Charles J. Rolo and R. Strausz-Hupe, "U.S. International Broadcasting," Harper's Magazine, August 1941, 301-312; Larry Wolters, "The Menace of Short Wave Propaganda," Radio News, May 1938, 14-15, 67-69.
2. Shortwaves travel skyward until they strike a layer of ionized gases (ionosphere) and are deflected on targeted nations below. George F. Church, "Short Waves and Propaganda," Public Opinion Quarterly 3:209-222 (1939); Gleason L. Archer, History of Radio to 1926 (New York: The American Historical Society, 1938).
3. Until May 1939, shortwave licenses were granted on experimental statuses that restricted broadcasters from carrying advertising specifically directed to foreign audiences; although the shortwave simulcast programs contained the advertisements meant for domestic audiences. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC), and its progenitor the Federal Radio Commission (FRC), maintained that foreign listeners might find advertising offensive. Howard S. Leroy, "Treaty Regulation of International Shortwave Broadcasting," The American Journal of

International Law 32:719-737 (October 1938); "X (for Experimental)," Time, August 28, 1939, 59. As early as 1930, some broadcasters applied to the FRC for the right to carry advertising over their shortwave broadcasts directed to foreign listeners. Nothing came of this request. "Broadcasters Seek to Sell Time and Commercialize Short Waves," The New York Times, October 19, 1930, X, 11.

4. John B. Whitton and John H. Herz, "Radio in International Politics," pp. 3-48 in Harwood L. Childs and John B. Whitton (eds.), Propaganda by Short Wave (Princeton: Princeton University Press), 44.
5. The German shortwave service, Zeesen, inaugurated regular programming to South America in 1934. It expanded to Central America in 1935. Italy's Ministry of Popular Culture began regular service to South America through Radio Rome in 1937, portraying Rome as the center of Catholicism. After Generalissimo Francisco Franco came to power in Spain, Radio Falange portrayed Spain as the "spiritual empire" in "Ibero-America." Rolo, Radio Goes to War, 127; Thomas Grandin, The Political Use of Radio (New York: Arno Press and the New York Times, 1971/originally published in 1939), 21-22.
6. "Unity of Germans Aim of Nazi Radio," The New York Times, April 5, 1937, A12; E.W.H. Lumsden, "Fascist Paraguay," Current History 44:61-65 (June 1936).
7. Because Latin American nations did not license or register radio receivers, estimates of radios in the region vary

considerably. This estimate, considered on of the most authoritative, is based on Department of Commerce figures. The nations with the most receivers were Argentina (1 million), Brazil (425,000), Mexico (350,000), and Cuba (150,000). U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Interstate Commerce, Hearings before a Subcommittee of the Committee on the Interstate Commerce on S. 3342. A Bill to Authorize the Construction and Operation of a Radio-Broadcasting Station Designed to Promote Friendly Relations among Nations of the Western Hemisphere. 75th Congress, 3rd Session, May 12, 18, 19, and 23, 1938, 159.

8. Richard W. Steele, Propaganda in Society: The Roosevelt Administration and the Media (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1985), 132. Also see Steele, "The Pulse of the People: Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Gauging of American Public Opinion," Journal of Contemporary History 9:195-216 (October 1974); Betty Houchin Winfield, "The New Deal Publicity Operation: Foundation for the Modern Presidency," Journalism Quarterly 61:40-48 (1984).

9. Shearon A. Lowery and Melvin L. De Fleur, Milestones in Mass Communication Research, 2nd ed. (New York: Longman, 1988), 52.

10. Michael Choukas, Propaganda Comes of Age (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1965). See the introduction by Cantril.

11. "Radio Propaganda of Europe Scoured," *The New York Times*, December 12, 1937, II, 1-2.

12. Richard W. Steele, "Preparing the Public for War: Efforts to Establish a National Propaganda Agency, 1940-1941," *American Historical Review* 75:1640-1653 (1979).

13. Philip T. Rosen, *The Modern Stentors: Radio Broadcasting and the Federal Government, 1920-1934* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980), 180.

14. Robert W. McChesney, "Off Limits: An Inquiry Into the Lack of Debate over the Ownership, Structure and Control of the Mass Media in U.S. Political Life," *Communication* 13:1-19 (1992), 10. Also see McChesney, "Franklin Roosevelt, His Administration, and the Communications Act of 1934," *American Journalism* 5:204-230 (1988).

15. McChesney, "Off Limits," 14.

16. Steele, "Preparing the Public for War," 1642.

17. Cesar Saerchinger, "Radio as a Political Instrument," *Foreign Affairs* 16:244-259 (January 1938), 245.

18. Congressional Record, House, *A Bill (H.R. 4281) Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to Construct and Maintain a Government Radio Broadcasting Station; Authorizing the U.S. Commissioner of Education to Provide Programs of National and International Interest; Making Necessary Appropriations for the Construction, Maintenance and Operation of the Station and Production of Programs Therefor; and for Other*

Purposes; to the Committee on Naval Affairs. February 3, 1937, Vol. 81, Part 1, 821.

19. U.S. Congress, House, Appendix, Short-Wave Broadcasting. A Speech by Hon. George Henry Payne, Federal Communications Commissioner, at Boston, Mass., on January 11, 1937. 75th Congress, 1st Session, 1937, 817.

20. U.S. Congress, Hearings Before a Subcommittee.

21. U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Naval Affairs, Hearings Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to Construct and Maintain a Government Radio Broadcasting Station; Authorizing the U.S. Commissioner of Education to Provide Programs of National and International Interest; Making Necessary Appropriations for the Construction, Maintenance and Operation of the Station and Production of Programs Therefor; and for Other Purposes. H.R. 4281. 75th Congress, 3rd Session, May 16, 17, 1938.

22. The NAB had achieved remarkable success in recent years by portraying broadcasters as defenders of freedom of the press in the broadcasting domain. Unfriendly relations between the NAB and the FCC dated to the passage of the Communications Act of 1934. Mackey, in a historical analysis of the development of the NAB, argued that the "broadcasters came to feel that the commission had become a regulatory enemy. . . that was going beyond its proper bounds and getting into business and programming aspects of broadcasting rather than pure physical regulation." David R. Mackey, "The Development

of the National Association of Broadcasters," Journal of Broadcasting 1:305-325 (1957), 321-322.

23. U.S. Congress, Hearings Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy . . ., 3477.

24. Congressional Record, Senate, A Bill (H.R. 10295), Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy to Construct and Maintain a Government Radio-Broadcasting Station; Authorizing the United States Commissioner of Education to Provide Programs of National and International Interest; Making Necessary Appropriations for the Construction, Maintenance, and Operation of the Station and the production of Programs therefor, and Other Purposes; to the Committee of Naval Affairs, 75th Congress, 3rd Session, April 19, 1938, 5499; Congressional Record, Senate, Joint Resolution (H. Res. 498) to Establish Within the Department of State an Institute of Friendly American Relations; to Carry Out the Obligations Assumed by the United States in the Convention for the Promotion of Inter-American Cultural relations Signed at Buenos Aires, December 23, 1936; to promote Good Will Between the Citizens of Other American Republics, and to Provide for the Exchange of Students and Professors Between the United States and Other American Republics; to Provide for Scholarships; to promote Trade and Business Relations Between the United States and Other American Republics; to Establish a Radio Station for the Dissemination of Information in English, Spanish, and

Portuguese Languages, and Other Purposes; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, 75th Congress, 3rd Session, May 12, 1938, 6715.

25. U.S. Congress, Hearings Before a Subcommittee . . ., 17.

26. U.S. Congress, Hearings Before a Subcommittee . . ., 156.

27. See testimony of E.K. Jett, chief engineer, telegraph section. U.S. Congress, Hearings Before a Subcommittee . . ., 11-22.

28. U.S. Congress, Hearings Before a Subcommittee . . ., 3.

29. U.S. Congress, Hearings Before a Subcommittee . . ., 36. This concern was repeatedly mentioned by senators during the hearings, as when Sen. Bone stated: "Anything that went out over the air from a government station might be attributable to government policy, and those who listened to such programs would assume that everything had a certain political cast or shade. So, I imagine it would be necessary to exercise great care in the preparation of programs." U.S. Congress, Hearings Before a Subcommittee, 7.

30. U.S. Congress, Hearings Before a Subcommittee . . ., 93.

31. U.S. Congress, Hearings Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy . . ., 3476; Celler made this same argument earlier in U.S. Congress, House, Appendix, Congressman Celler's Bill for a Federally Controlled Pan American Broadcasting Station, 75th Congress, 3rd Session, February 3, 1937, 135.

32. Fred Fejes, Imperialism, Media, and the Good Neighbor: New

Deal Foreign Policy and United States Shortwave Broadcasting to Latin America (Norwood, N.J.: Ablex), 89-90.

33. U.S. Congress, Hearings Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy . . ., 3479.

34. U.S. Congress, Hearings Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy . . ., 3482.

35. U.S. Congress, House, The Naval Affairs Committee. Appendix, Pan American Radio Station--Antidote for Nazi Poisoned Air. 75th Congress, 3rd Session, May 24, 1938, 2398.

36. U.S. Congress, Hearings Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy . . ., 3484.

37 McNinch was a loyal new dealer who, while head of the Federal Power Commission, helped Roosevelt break "the power trust." Roosevelt appointed McNinch temporary chairman of the FCC in August 1937. "Frank R. McNinch, Government Aid," The New York Times, April 21, 1950, 23.

38. "By neither openly supporting congressional efforts on behalf of a government station nor offering alternatives, the administration gave de facto support to the continued development of shortwave broadcasting by private interests." Fejes, Imperialism, Media, and the Good Neighbor, 100.

39. U.S. Congress, Hearings Authorizing the Secretary of the Navy . . ., 3495.

40. U.S. Interdepartmental Committee to Study International Broadcasting, Report of the Interdepartmental Committee to Study International Broadcasting: Report of the Subcommittee

on Programs (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1939); "President Asks Further Study of International Broadcasting," NAB Reports, May 20, 1938, 2717.

41. Lewis V. Gilpin, "Bills for Government Stations Wither From Lack of Support," Broadcasting, June 1, 1938, 19.

42. For a profile of Beals, see John Britton, "Carleton Beals and Central America after Sandino: Struggle to Publish," Journalism Quarterly 60:240-245, 310 (Summer 1983).

43. Carleton Beals, The Coming Struggle for Latin America (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1939), 292-294.

44. Congressional Record, Senate, A Bill to Authorize the Construction and Operation of a Radio-Broadcasting Station Designed to Promote Friendly Relations Among the Nations of the Western hemisphere; to the Committee on Foreign Affairs, 76th Congress, 3rd Session, April 27, 1939, 4820.

45. Harold L. Ickes, The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes. Volume II: The Inside Struggle, 1936-1939 (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1954), [entry on April 1, 1939] 606.

46. Fred Fejes, "The U.S. in Third World Communications: Latin America, 1900-1945," Journalism Monographs, No. 86 (University of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C.: Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, November 1983), 14-15.

47. Advertisements over shortwave, however, were restricted to identifying the sponsor and describing the product or

service. "FCC Short Wave Rules, Part 42.03(b), sub-sections 1-5 International Broadcast Stations" [text of FCC rules], NAB Reports (May 26, 1939), 3499-3500. Non-commercial programming was the norm in international shortwave broadcasting. A notable exception was Radio Luxembourg. Until Germany marched into that nation in 1940, Radio Luxembourg carried English-language programs sponsored by U.S. advertisers for broadcast into Great Britain, which did not have commercial programming. Erik Barnouw, "Propaganda at Radio Luxembourg: 1944-1945," pp. 192-197 in K.R.M. Short (ed.), Film & Radio Propaganda in World War II (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1983); Walter B. Emery, "Radio Luxembourg: 'The Station of the Stars'," Journal of Broadcasting 10:311-326 (1966).

48. "FCC Short Wave Rules," Part 42.02(b), section 3, 3499. The date was later extended to January 1, 1941. Also see Federal Communications Commission, Fifth Annual Report, Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1939 (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1940), 47.

49. Fejes, Imperialism, Media, and the Good Neighbor, 103.

50. "100,000-Watt G.E. Transmitter Answers Foreign Short Waves," Newsweek, July 17, 1939, 32-33.

51. U.S. Federal Communications Commission, Sixth Annual Report, Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1940 (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1940), 14.

52. Federal Communications Commission, Code of Federal Regulations, No. 34222, 42.03(a), International Broadcast Stations (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, May 23, 1939), 17.

53. Correspondence from Sydney M. Kaye, Esq., to Henry J. Eckstein, Esq., June 2, 1939. Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University, ACLU Archives, file #34222.

54. Miller's letter and accompanying material critical of the rule, including speeches and newspaper editorials, can be found in "Censorship: Mr. Miller's Letter," NAB Reports, June 9, 1939, 3526-3528; Douglas A. Boyd, "The Pre-History of the Voice of America," Public Telecommunications Review, 2:38-43 (December 1974).

55. Correspondence from Sol M. Alpher to Roger N. Baldwin, "Re: International broadcasting Rule," June 1, 1939. Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University, ACLU Archives, file #34222.

56. "Petition for the Withdrawal or Amendment of Rule 42.03(a)," June 7, 1939. Other relevant correspondences can be found in the Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University, ACLU Archives, file #34222.

57. Announcement, Federal Communications Commission, Washington, D.C., June 15, 1939. Seeley G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Princeton University, ACLU Archives, file #34222.

58. Curran and the Society were associated with the right-wing views of the Rev. Father Charles E. Coughlin, the Royal Oak,

Mich., radio priest. "Edward Curran, Right-Wing Priest," The New York Times, February 16, 1974, A34.

59. "FCC Orders Hearing on 'Censorship Rule'," NAB Reports, June 16, 1939, 3539-3541. This document contains letters from numerous interested parties opposed to the culture clause. Also see "Newspapers See Censorship Dangers in New International Ruling of FCC," Broadcasting, June 1, 1939, 13, 61.

60. "Radio Control," The New York Times, May 25, 1939, A24.

61. Hugh S. Johnson, "Muzzled Radio," The New York World Telegram, June 10, 1939, A24.

62. U.S. Congress, House, Appendix, Letter to Hon. Frank R. McNinch. 75st Congress, 1st Session, June 15, 1939, 2629.

63. U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, A Bill to Remove Certain Restrictions on the Character of International Broadcasts; to the Committee of Interstate and Foreign Commerce, H.R. 7188, 76th Congress, 1st Session, July 13, 1939, 9070.

64. "'Short Wave' Hearing," NAB Reports, July 21, 1939 [transcripts of the hearings, testimony on July 14], 3605.

65. "'Short Wave' Hearing," 3606 [transcripts of the hearings, testimony on July 14].

66. Federal Communications Commission, Issues Raised by the International Short Wave Broadcasting Rule 42.03(a) (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, July 14, 15, and 17, 1939) [testimony on July 17], 8. Seeley

G. Mudd Manuscript Library, Public Policy Papers, Princeton University Archives, ACLU paper, Vol. 2106.

67. "Broadcasting is Again Attacked," The New York Times, July 18, 1939, A1.

68. Federal Communications Commissions, Issues Raised [testimony on July 17], 2.

69. Federal Communications Commission, Issues Raised [testimony on July 17], 8

70. Federal Communications Commission, Issues Raised [testimony on July 17], 5.

71. Shirley's testimony under the heading "Bill of Rights" accounted for four pages. Federal Communications Commission, Issues Raised [testimony on July 17], 11-14.

72. Federal Communications Commission, Issues Raised [testimony on July 17], 10.

73. Federal Communications Commission, Issues Raised [testimony on July 17], 16.

74. "It would appear that the FCC capitulated on Section 42.03(a) quite easily," Boyd, "The Pre-History," 42. Also see "'Short Wave' Hearing," NAB Reports, July 21, 1939, 3605-3608; "FCC Regulations Regarding International Broadcast Stations" [printed in full] in Jack Alicote, ed., The 1942 Radio Annual (New York: The Radio Daily, 1942), 1000-1001.

75. "FCC Quietly Inters International Rule as a Result of Disturbed World Scene," Broadcasting, October 1, 1939, 8.

The suspension was lifted in 1955 during fears of Communist influence. Boyd, "The Pre-History."

76. U.S. Congress, Hearings Before a Subcommittee . . ., 44.

77. "Program to Latin America Slated to remain Sustaining," Advertising Age, July 2, 1939, 17.

78. "Short Wave into High," Time, November 11, 1940, 48.

79. Lunsford P. Yandell, "NBC Reports," Export Trade and Shipper, January 20, 1941, 18.

80. "Broadcasters Plan Powerful Beams to Roll Music and News Down to Rio," The New York Times, July 28, 1940, IX, 10.

81. There were earlier attempts to establish affiliate relations, beginning with CBS's "Conclave of Nations" program dating to 1930. In 1938, NBC arranged linkages with stations in eight Latin America republics to re-broadcast President Roosevelt's good-will message from the United States. These attempts, however, did not lead to long-term formal network relations. E. Roderick Deihl, "South of the Border: The NBC and CBS Radio Networks and the Latin American Venture, 1930-1942," Communication Quarterly 25:2-12 (Fall 1977).

82. Orrin E. Dunlap, Jr., "Singing Down to Rio," The New York Times, Dec. 11, 1938, IX:14.

83. Although U.S. broadcasters established affiliates in Canada during the late 1920s, the Latin American venture was more sweeping. The Canadian affiliates led to an outcry in Ottawa against American cultural encroachment, the abolishment of Canadian affiliates, and the creation of the Canadian

Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) in 1936. E.A. Weir, The Struggle for National Broadcasting in Canada (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1965).

84. "Commercial Series for Latin American Nations Viewed as Aid to Hemisphere Relations," Broadcasting, October 15, 1940, 26. The word "cadena," or "chain," was the common Spanish term for a broadcasting network.

85. "CBS Latin Hook Up Covers 18 Nations," Broadcasting, January 1, 1941, 18, 62. Paley recounted his observations and meetings with Latin American leaders in "Radio Tours South," Fortune, April 1941, 77-79, 108.

86. William S. Paley, As It Happened: A Memoir (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1979), 141.

87. "To Promote Latin Relations," Broadcasting, November 15, 1940, 59.

88. "CBS to Dedicate New Latin Network," Broadcasting, May 18, 1942, 30. After leaving CBS, Chester became involved in business deals to purchase radio stations in Latin America. In Cuba, Chester befriended dictator Fulgencio Batista and joined with Cuban entrepreneurs in 1952 to purchase the economically strapped Radio Havana Cuba-Cadena Azul (Blue Network) radio network. He also wrote a laudatory book about Batista and became Batista's public relations spokesman. During a particularly notorious incident in which the Batista government incorrectly claimed to have killed Fidel Castro and his rebels in the Sierra Maestra hills, Chester

represented the Batista government against the U.S. press and challenged New York Times' journalist Herbert Matthews' claims to have interviewed Castro in the Sierra Maestra. Matthews' claims were later proven to be true. Michael B. Salwen, Radio and Television in Cuba: The Pre-Castro Era (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1994), 103.

89. "FDR Praises Radio in American Unity," Broadcasting, November 1, 1940, 80.

90. "Shouse to Tour Latin Countries," Broadcasting, January 27, 1941, 15. Crosley recognized the political significance of WLWO and the possibility of enemy sabotage. After equipment was destroyed in a suspicious fire at WLWO, the company hired twelve security guards and constructed a metal fence and guard house with flood lights illuminating the transmitter. R.W. Stewart, "American Short-Wave Activity is Spurred," The New York Times, February 9, 1941, IX, 12.

91. James Reston, "Offers a Subsidy on Latins' News," The New York Times, October 7, 1941, A13.

92. James B. Reston, "Our Second Line of Defense," The New York Times Magazine, June 29, 1941, 7.

93. Alicote, The 1942 Radio Annual, 999.

94. "Network in Mexico Ties Up with NBC," Broadcasting, August 25, 1941, A11.

95. Unlike the arrangement in the United States, stations in the major Latin American networks, such as Mexico's XEW and Cuba's CMQ, were not true "affiliates." They were owned by

the network and usually re-broadcast the same programs on all stations.

96. Alicote, The 1942 Radio Annual, 858-863.

97. By this time most broadcasters realized a return of only seven cents on the dollar. Fejes, Media, Imperialism, and the Good Neighbor, 115.

98. Alicote, The 1942 Radio Annual, 999.

99. "Radio Advertising in Latin America," Broadcasting, September 29, 1941, 31, 33. J.J. Clarey, Jr., vice president of the Export Advertising Association, writing a widely cited piece in an export trade publication, noted that advertisers had at their disposal two methods of radio advertising to Latin America: the traditional method of contracting through domestic agencies to advertise over specific Latin American stations or the new method of working directly with shortwave broadcasters with or without local re-broadcasts. Noting the homogeneity of cultures and tastes in the region, Clarey stated that the traditional method was far superior. J.J. Clarey, Jr., "Radio Advertising in and to South America," Export Trade and Shipper, February 3, 1941, 10, 14, 18-19.

100. Goar Mestre, personal interview, Key Biscayne, Fla., May 10, 1990.

101. Frank F. Taylor, "Latin America's Big Voice," Readers Digest, July 1944, 76-78.

102. Sol Taishoff, "Defense Board Given Limited Authority," Broadcasting, October 1, 1940, 11-12, 19. Also see accompanying sidebar, "Text of President's Order Setting Up New Board" (p. 12).

103. Harwood L. Childs and John B. Whitton, Propaganda by Short Wave (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1942), see preface for a brief review of the creation of the Princeton Listening Center.

104. Federal Communications Commission, Seventh Annual Report, Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1941 (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1940), 1.

105. For a succinct overview of the agencies see James B. Reston, "Defense Picture Given to World in All Media by Defense Agencies," The New York Times, October 27, 1941, A1, A36.

106. "The President Issues a Statement and Establishes the Office of Censorship. Executive Order No. 8985, December 19, 1941." Reprinted in Samuel I. Rosenman (Comp.), The Public Papers and Address of Franklin D. Roosevelt. Vol. 10: The Call to Battle Stations (New York: Russell & Russell, 1950), 574-579. Establishment of the Office of Censorship was a sure sign that the government was prepared to take what heretofore would have been considered extreme actions in broadcasting. Among other things, there were guidelines forbidding telephoned requests for musical numbers and reporting the weather and quiz programs. United States Government Office of Censorship, Code of Wartime Practices

for American Broadcasters (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, December 1, 1943).

107. Office of Censorship, A Report on the Office of Censorship (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Historical Reports on War Administration, United States Government Printing Office, 1945).

108. "Government Buys GE Transmitter," Broadcasting, December 22, 1941, 55.

109. This effort is generally regarded as precursor to the establishment of the Voice of America (VOA). Boyd, "The Pre-History," 44.

110. Alicote, The 1942 Radio Annual, 999.

111. "U.S. Takes Over Short Waves to Win Air Propaganda War," Newsweek, 19 October 1942, 30.

112. John B. Whitton and John H. Herz, "Radio in International Politics," pp. 1-48 in Harwood L. Childs and John B. Whitton (eds.), Propaganda by Short Wave (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1942), 47.

113. As Deihl wrote: "At an earlier date, commercial broadcasters would have been horrified at the idea of government intervention. . . ." "South of the Border," 12.

114. Executive Order 9089, "Wire Communications, Regulation for Station Facilities," 7 Federal Register 1777.

115. The spokesperson meant that the government was, at least for now, not exercising its authority to take over the

facilities. "DCB Gets Control of Wire Facilities," The New York Times, March 8, 1942, A33.

116. Executive Order 9089.

117. "Action on Government Subsidy for Shortwave Outlets Soon," Broadcasting, March 30, 1942, 66; "Leasing of All Shortwave Time Considered by Donovan Office," Broadcasting, February 9, 1942, 12; "President May Settle Shortwave Dispute," Broadcasting, February 23, 1941, 10; "Wartime Shortwave Operation Up to FDR and Budget Bureau," Broadcasting, March 9, 1942, 54.

118. For a behind-the-scenes account of the arrangements see Fejes, Imperialism, Media, and the Good Neighbor, 144-154.

119. Still, there was no doubt in the public mind that this was a "take over." As a Newsweek report observed: "Under the new arrangement American short-wave broadcasts will be official in every sense of the word. They will fall into two broad categories: psychological warfare against our enemies, and news and morale-building programs for our Allies and our forces abroad." "U.S. Takes Over Short Waves, 30, emphasis added.

120. Fejes, Imperialism, Media, and the Good Neighbor, 147

121. This was partly to assuage the two powerful broadcast networks, particularly the hesitant Paley at CBS, and partly because the government lacked the expertise and credibility to produce its own programming. "Expanded Shortwave in Sight

for Latin American Service," Broadcasting, September 28, 1942, 14.

122. U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, "Hearings on the National War Agencies, Appropriations Bill, 1944," 78th Congress, 1st Session, April-June 1943, 781.

123. "'Citizen Roosevelt' Pictured in 'Cavalcade' Short-Waved in Spanish to Latin America," The New York Times, July 14, 1943, A40.

124. U.S. Poised to Lease all Shortwave Stations," Broadcasting, November 2, 1942, 7, 47.

125. "U.S. Shortwave Absorption to Include Most of Employees," Broadcasting, November 9, 1942, 16.

126. There was never any question regarding Lemmon's political loyalty. For years WRUL operated with "the blessing of the Donovan group" and contracted the services of the Modern Languages Department of Harvard University to produce its "morale relief" programs for listeners in Nazi-occupied Europe. "The U.S. Short Wave," Time, November 3, 1941, 55-56. On numerous occasions WRUL and Lemmon were criticized by German Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels for expounding "democratic drivel." Webb Waldron, "Democracy on the Short Waves," Reader's Digest, September 1941, 40-44.

127. "Shortwave Outlets Geared for African Push: World-Wide Station Taken Over on BWC Order," Broadcasting, November 16, 1942, 14. Although the announcement mentioned only WRUL, the

order of closure, reprinted in this article, stated that the BWC was taking over World Wide's three shortwave facilities.

128. Lawrence C. Soley, Radio Warfare: OSS and CIA Subversive Propaganda (New York: Praeger, 1989), see esp. Chapter 3, "The Early Subversive Stations of the United States," 81-122.

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